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WOMEN AND REPEAL

THE STORY OF THE
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR
NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM



AND HE VOTED DRY?!

WOMEN AND REPEAL

THE STORY OF THE
*WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR
NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM*

AUTHORIZED BY MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN

By GRACE C. ROOT



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WOMEN AND REPEAL

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FIRST EDITION

M.H

*To those women
whose voices may never have been
heard, whose names may never have
been printed, but in whose persistent
and effective work for Repeal lay the
true strength of the
W O N P R*

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	ix
CHRONOLOGY	xi
CHAPTER	
I. THE CHALLENGE AND THE RESPONSE	1
II. THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM IS FOUNDED	9
III. THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE—DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES	18
IV. "WOMAN'S TONGUE, LIKE THUNDERIN' GUN—DEAR LORD, DELIVER ME"	24
V. THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE—RESOLUTION FOR DIRECT POLITICAL ACTION	42
VI. IN FULL SWING	56
VII. THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE—ENDORSEMENT OF REPEAL NATIONAL PLANK	67
VIII. THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS	77
IX. THE TEST OF THE WONPR	91
X. THE CAMPAIGN OF 1932	105
XI. LIQUOR CONTROL PLANS AND STATE COMMISSIONS	121
XII. THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE—RATIFICATION AND REGULATION	126
XIII. THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS	133
XIV. RATIFICATION	140

APPENDICES

I. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES	161
II. BY-LAWS	162
III. RESOLUTIONS	163
IV. NATIONAL OFFICERS	180
V. STATE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES	182
INDEX	213

FOREWORD

THIS is the story of the WONPR and not the story of the Eighteenth or of the Twenty-first Amendment. This fact should be borne in mind by any who feel that the activities of those organizations and individuals who worked diligently and ably for Repeal have been slighted. The WONPR gratefully cooperated with many other groups and does not mean to take from them their due shares of credit for substituting a splendid reality in place of a "noble experiment."

The history of the WONPR should have been written by Anne O'Hagan Shinn. She had been chosen to do it and was collecting material at the time of her death in June, 1933. Mrs. Shinn knew from its beginning to almost its end the work of the WONPR. Hers would have been precisely the pen, the wit, the wisdom and the first-hand knowledge to have done the story justice.

My sense of inadequacy in writing this book now at Mrs. Sabin's request is only equalled by my pride in having been a member of an organization which should have its story told, even if by me.

For information on the WONPR State Organizations I wish to thank the State Chairmen and, in Delaware, Miss Eckman, in Michigan, Mrs. Charles A. Dean, Jr. and in Kentucky, Miss Susan Humphreys. Mrs. Walter Laves of Clinton, New York, has given me valuable help in combining and editing the mass of state material. Mrs. Preston Lockwood, WONPR National Executive Secretary, Miss Vera C. Quinn, WONPR National Publicity Department and Miss Anne Morrissey of New York City

have collected other material for me. Professor Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University has given me many useful suggestions. I am most grateful to these friends for their assistance.

GRACE C. ROOT

Clinton, New York

November 1933

CHRONOLOGY

1917

AUG. 1—Senate votes Eighteenth Amendment, 65 to 20.

DEC. 17—House votes the amendment, 287 to 100.

1918

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment founded.

1919

JAN. 16—Nebraska becomes thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment.

JAN. 29—Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution proclaimed to become effective Jan. 16, 1920.

JULY 22—House passes National Prohibition Act (Volstead law), establishing one-half of 1 per cent alcoholic limit.

SEPT. 4—Senate passes Volstead Act.

OCT. 27—President Wilson vetoes Volstead Act; House overrides veto.

OCT. 28—Senate overrides veto.

1920

JAN. 16—Prohibition Amendment effective.

JUNE 7—Supreme Court upholds Volstead Act.

1921

JUNE 27—House approves Willis-Campbell "anti-beer" bill.

NOV. 18—Senate passes "anti-beer" bill.

1928

FEB. 15—House defeats measure to prohibit poisoning of industrial alcohol.

JUNE 12—Republican party in national platform pledges itself for enforcement of all laws.

JUNE 28—Democratic party in national platform calls for effort to enforce Eighteenth Amendment.

Nov. 6—Mr. Hoover is elected President.

1929

FEB. 19—Senate approves Jones "five-and-ten" law providing stricter penalties.

FEB. 28—House approves "five-and-ten" law.

MARCH 4—President Hoover in his Inaugural Address calls for commission to investigate federal system of jurisprudence.

(APRIL 3—Mrs. Sabin announces in speech before Women's National Republican Club that she will fight for change in Prohibition law.)

MAY 20—Wickersham Commission appointed.

(MAY 28—WONPR is founded in Chicago.)

1930

JAN. 13—First report of Wickersham Commission issued.

(MARCH 4—WONPR presents report of investigations of social results of Prohibition to Wickersham Commission.)

(APRIL 23—WONPR holds First National Conference in Cleveland—Declaration of Principles. Membership, 100,000.)

MAY 14—Senate defeats measure to prohibit poisoning of industrial alcohol.

Nov. 4—Elections increase Repeal strength in House by 70; in Senate by 4.

1931

JAN. 7.—Second report of Wickersham Commission issued.

FEB. 2—Senate refuses to remove restrictions on physicians' liquor prescriptions.

(April 14—WONPR holds Second National Conference in Washington—Resolution for

Direct Political Action. Membership,
300,000.)

(DEC. 1—WONPR announces results of poll of
Seventy-second Congress.)

1932

MARCH 14—House defeats, by vote of 228 to 169, Beck-Lin-
thicum Resolution to take a vote on submission
to states of an amendment to the Constitution
permitting those states which so desire to set
up control of liquor traffic.

(APRIL 12—WONPR holds Third National Con-
ference in Washington—Resolution
for endorsement of Repeal Na-
tional Plank. Membership, 620,-
000.)

(APRIL 14—WONPR inquires stand of all presi-
dential possibilities on their sup-
port of plank in their party
platform for Repeal and Ratifica-
tion by State Conventions.)

(MAY 16 to 21—WONPR observes Repeal
Week.)

MAY 18—Senate defeats 4-per-cent beer bill, 60 to 23.

MAY 18—Senate defeats 2.75-per-cent beer bill, 61 to 24.

JUNE 15—Republican party in national platform adopts
"wet-moist-dry" plank.

JUNE 30—Democratic party in national platform adopts
outright Repeal plank.

(JULY 7—WONPR Executive Committee en-
dorses Democratic platform and candi-
date on basis of Repeal stand.)

JULY 16—Senate, by a vote of 37 to 21, takes up considera-
tion of Glass Amendment to Eighteenth Amend-
ment, directed against return of the saloon and
protecting dry states.

Nov. 8—Mr. Roosevelt is elected President. All referenda on question of Repeal of Eighteenth Amendment or Repeal of State Prohibition laws and Enforcement Acts are won by Repeal.

DEC. 5—House fails by narrow margin of 271 to 144 to pass the Garner Repeal Resolution (two-thirds vote necessary for passage).

DEC. 21—House passes Collier 3.2-per-cent beer bill, 230 to 165.

1933

FEB. 17—Blaine Repeal Resolution providing for vote by State Conventions on Twenty-first Amendment to repeal Eighteenth Amendment passed by Senate, 65 to 28.

FEB. 20.—Blaine Resolution passed by House, 289 to 121.

MARCH 22—President Roosevelt signs Cullen 3.2-per-cent beer bill (modifying Volstead Act) passed by Senate March 20 and by House March 21.

APRIL 10—Michigan holds first Convention in United States for Ratification of Twenty-first Amendment.

(APRIL 5—WONPR holds Fourth National Conference in Washington—Ratification and Regulation. Membership 1,326,-862.)

(SEPT. 26—WONPR Executive Committee passes resolution empowering National Chairman to dissolve Organization when thirty-sixth state ratifies.)

DEC. 5—Conventions in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Utah ratify the Twenty-first Amendment. Thirty-six states having ratified, the Eighteenth Amendment is automatically repealed.

(DEC 6—WONPR holds final meeting and Victory Dinner in Washington.)

WOMEN AND REPEAL

Chapter I

THE CHALLENGE AND THE RESPONSE

April 1929

TOWARD the end of 1917 Congress passed a resolution for national Prohibition. A year and a half later Congress passed a resolution for woman suffrage. These two resolutions materialized respectively into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

It is doubtful if any of the legislators who voted for these measures foresaw that the Suffrage Amendment laid dynamite under the Prohibition Amendment. Why should they? Not a woman's voice had ever been raised against Prohibition. Hundreds, even thousands, had been heard in the supplication and in the threat that only "total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the state" would suffice. The Women's Christian Temperance Union had been at its work for over fifty years. Since 1900 its persistent lobbyists had beleaguered the capitals of the country. The result was that the White-ribboners had accomplished their end as successfully as had the Militant Suffragists under their banners of yellow and black. With these two laws passed, doubtless the legislators drew a sigh of relief. For although the home had been both purified and equalized, a haven of peace remained to them in the halls of Congress. By 1927, however, assertions that Prohibition had, after all, not brought the millennium began to penetrate even that retreat. The voices then heard by the Senators and

Congressmen were those of their own brothers Adam in the men's Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.¹ The women appeared to be satisfied with the Prohibition they had pleaded for. That could be seen by the public endorsements given by the WCTU, the League of Women Voters, the Law Enforcement League, the Y.W.C.A., and, according to some, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. And well did the legislators know that it was the women's vote which now comprised half of their electorate.

So the years wore on. In three hundred and eighty-eight cities arrests for violation of the Prohibition law increased 70 per cent from 1919 to 1927.² Yet Prohibition was the law of the land. "Drinking-dry" legislators, who daily broke the law, were returned to office by voters who broke the law more than daily. The country milled on in hypocrisy and fear. If a candidate for public office would lie to the women by saying he believed in Prohibition, his election was assured. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York State, refused to be thus intimidated when he ran for re-election to the Senate in 1926. He was beaten, and the WCTU took great credit to itself for his defeat.

In their 1928 national platform the Republicans pledged themselves to maintain by enforcement the principles of the Constitution and of all laws. The Democratic platform called for an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, Governor Smith of

¹ Captain William A. Stayton founded the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment in 1918 and so was first in the United States to organize public opinion against Prohibition.

² Figures compiled by the Moderation League of New York City.

New York having been beaten in his fight against this plank.

On April 3, 1929 a woman was heard to speak against Prohibition. It was Mrs. Charles H. Sabin. At a lunch given in her honor in New York City by the Women's National Republican Club, which she had founded and for many years served as president, she announced that she had resigned as National Republican Committee-woman because she wanted to work for a change in the Prohibition law.

It was a dramatic move. Mrs. Sabin had been the first woman to serve on the National Republican Committee. Although she had opposed the nomination of Mr. Hoover in 1928, once it was made she had agreed to serve as Director of the Women's Republican Campaign in the East. She had done this in the belief that an honest effort would be made by the Hoover administration to study the prohibition situation, and then if the report showed the failure of Prohibition, to advocate a change in the law. Now, disillusioned by subsequent events, she made clear her reasons for withdrawing from the fold:

I had thought during the campaign that by his promise of an investigating Commission Mr. Hoover meant one to concentrate on the results of the Prohibition Law alone. I had worked for him on that belief. When I heard his Inaugural Address I realized the Commission was to investigate our whole Federal system of jurisprudence. I made up my mind I was fooled and the day after sent in my resignation to the Republican National Committee.

Here was a challenge to all women who felt that party

loyalty was obscuring an issue of primary importance. It was a signal for action.

"Mrs. Sabin out to battle Drys!" were the headlines on April 4th throughout the country. The challenge was heard from coast to coast.

Legislators reading the papers that day must have wondered if the women could ever be satisfied.

I started out believing in the Eighteenth Amendment [says Mrs. Sabin]. I don't suppose there was any one specific occurrence that made me change my mind. My first definite reaction came when I saw the hypocrisy in my fellow political workers—members on Resolutions Committees who would vote for Prohibition and stricter enforcement and then half an hour later would be seen taking a cocktail. I just couldn't stand anything so double-faced.

I had no idea of forming an organization against Prohibition when I sent in my resignation to the National Republican Committee. But I was honest about why I was at odds with the party. When I said at the National Republican Club luncheon that I was going to fight Prohibition, the letters began pouring in from women all over the country saying that they also protested against Prohibition. Contributions came too; the day after I made my speech at the Republican Club luncheon I must have received \$5,000 from people. I even wrote that I might have to return their money to them.

Coming out against Prohibition I found I had spoken for thousands of other women. There was a large group ready to be organized, wanting to be organized. And the road before me was so plainly indicated I could not turn back from it.

William Ward (Republican) of Westchester County, the last old-time political boss in New York State, sent the following note to Mrs. Sabin:

"Politicians die or are licked. They don't resign. I am very sorry you have taken this action. I am sure both The Republican Party and Pauline Sabin will be losers."

Mrs. Sabin had resigned, but the record shows that her outstanding political service was just beginning. The day after she announced her opposition to Prohibition at the Women's National Republican Club, she called together the following women, who became founders of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform:

Mrs. Lothrop Ames of Massachusetts
 Mrs. Cornelius N. Bliss of New York
 Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler of New York
 Mrs. Eliot Cross of New York
 Mrs. John B. Casserly of California
 Mrs. Amasa S. Mather of Ohio
 Mrs. Edward S. Moore of New York
 Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll of New York
 Mrs. Kenneth O'Brien of New York
 Mrs. George Orvis of Vermont
 Mrs. R. Stuyvesant Pierrepont of New Jersey
 Mrs. William C. Potter of New York
 Mrs. Herbert L. Pratt of New York
 Mrs. John Sloane of New York
 Mrs. Coffin Van Rensselaer of New York
 Miss Maude K. Wetmore of Rhode Island

Mrs. Sabin was appointed temporary chairman; Mrs. Nicoll, temporary secretary; Mrs. Potter, temporary treasurer. The chairman requested that at the next meeting each member bring in her suggestions for a policy, a name, and a plan of organization for the group.

Two more informal meetings of the WONPR founders were held in the spring of 1929 in New York. At the first one it was decided that the plan of organization should follow that of the Red Cross, and that the country should be divided into fourteen regions. A list was drawn up of women to be asked to serve as regional directors. These directors were to enlist forty or fifty women in each state of their region, who in turn were to meet and elect their own state chairman. The first meeting of the regional directors was to be held in Chicago on May 28th. It was decided that the name of the group should be "Women's Legion for True Temperance."

At the second informal meeting on April 25th, it was decided to change the name to "Women's Temporary Organization for National Prohibition Reform." Mrs. Sabin reported the following:

1. She had leased for a period of six months an office located at 21 East 40th Street.
2. The editor of the *Outlook* magazine had offered to publish two or three articles when the committee was ready to provide them.
3. The Junior League of New York State was willing to have a discussion on Prohibition.

Mrs. Sabin made the suggestion that the committee consider getting four or five large cities to hold, simultaneously, a mass meeting of women protesting against the conditions existing under the present Prohibition law, such meetings to be held shortly before the Congress convened the next winter.

Another informal meeting was held May 8th, in New York. Mrs. Sabin reported that she had just returned from Cleveland, where she and Mrs. Mather (Regional

Director for Michigan, Ohio and Indiana) had talked of an organization against Prohibition to a group of women representing many different clubs. It was agreed that at the close of the Chicago meeting a story be given to the press that a group of women had met in Chicago for the first meeting of the Temporary Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform; that this committee would concentrate its efforts during the summer toward forming a national organization to do educational work among women opposing national prohibition. Mrs. Sabin made the suggestion that a convention be held in Cleveland or Columbus, Ohio, in the fall, when a permanent organization and a permanent policy would be decided upon, and resolutions drawn up to be submitted to the members of Congress.

So read the matter-of-fact records of the founding of the WONPR.

If the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League had ever had opportunity to observe the power of an intelligent woman of the world, if the Dry wing of the Republican party had believed a politician could be courageous, they must all have seen the Repeal handwriting on the wall as soon as Mrs. Sabin took leadership in the field against them. Minorities are to be measured by spirit as well as numbers, and the eagerness of the sixteen who followed Mrs. Sabin was disconcerting. Yet it is questionable if this minority then realized the power they could exert through their new citizenship. The woman's vote was still one of the imponderables to the women themselves as well as to the legislators.

The formation of this minority marked the arrival on the political scene of a vigorous element from the women

of both parties who had learned to reason for themselves, and who had thus taken the first step in making their suffrage mean true government.

Alfred E. Smith of New York, from the start a resolute fighter for Repeal, was always a source of strength for the WONPR. Later, he remarked this exact turning-point in the tide against Prohibition:

"Sensible women who had been misled by the dry slogan that all good women must be for drastic enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment began to realize that they were supporting a movement more dangerous to the home, more harmful to children, more threatening to future generations, than anything else in American life. When the ideas of the fanatics began to lose their hold upon the women of the country, when courageous women like Mrs. Sabin risked public condemnation by attacking the whole theory of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Drys who had had everything their own way were put on the defensive. When women entered the fight for Repeal, sanity began to return to the country."⁸

⁸ *New Outlook*, September, 1933.

Chapter II

THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR NATIONAL PROHIBITION REFORM IS FOUNDED

May, 1929

I

ON MAY 28th, less than two months after Mrs. Sabin's challenge in New York before the Women's National Republican Club, twenty-four women met in Chicago to launch the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform. These women, who had accepted membership on the National Advisory Council of the newly formed Organization, were:

Mrs. John B. Casserly of California
Mrs. George R. Nichols, Jr., of Illinois
Mrs. Joseph M. Cudahy of Illinois
Mrs. Clive Runnells of Illinois
Mrs. W. G. Hibbard of Illinois
Mrs. Charles Edward Brown of Illinois
Mrs. Ralph Shaw of Illinois
Mrs. Allen C. Clement of Illinois
Mrs. Wirt Morton of Illinois
Mrs. Houston Whiteside of Kansas
Mrs. H. V. D. Moore of New Jersey
Mrs. R. Stuyvesant Pierrepont of New Jersey
Mrs. Margaret Cullinan Wray of New Mexico
Mrs. Caspar Whitney of New York
Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll of New York
Mrs. Charles H. Sabin of New York

Miss Pauline Maudigo of New York
Mrs. L. J. V. Bonney of Ohio
Mrs. Henry Nelson Rose of Ohio
Mrs. W. W. Montgomery, Jr., of Pennsylvania
Mrs. W. E. Norvell, Jr., of Tennessee
Mrs. George A. Washington of Tennessee
Mrs. Helen B. Moore of Texas
Mrs. George Orvis of Vermont

Addressing the meeting, Mrs. Sabin said that one hundred and twenty-one women, representing twenty-six states, had agreed to serve on this National Advisory Council which would form a permanent organization "to work for a sane solution of National Prohibition." It was planned to have, in addition, a State Advisory Council in each state. In the fall a convention was to be called at which the Organization's permanent policies and program would be formulated. Until then the Organization should not declare for any definite change in the Prohibition law.

It was moved by Mrs. Casserly of California, seconded by Mrs. Pierrepont of New Jersey, and unanimously carried that the name of the Organization, pending the convention in the fall, should be: "The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform." The following National Committees were decided upon:

- (1) Investigation—to gather statistics regarding the increase of drunkenness and the effect of Prohibition on the younger generation; to get statements on Prohibition from judges of juvenile courts, social service workers, educators, etc.

- (2) Publicity—to write open letters to the newspapers and to answer statements found in the press from organizations supporting Prohibition.
- (3) Speakers' Bureau—to train women to speak at meetings, hearings, and conventions.
- (4) Legislative—to follow all legislation pertaining to Prohibition in federal and state legislatures and to be prepared to appear at legislative hearings as representatives of the Organization.
- (5) Membership—to enroll members throughout the forty-eight states.

There were to be no membership dues; the work of the Organization was to be financed by voluntary contributions. A committee was appointed to draw up an enrollment card for membership. An "A B C pamphlet" was to be written giving reasons why women should work for a change in the national Prohibition law. It was decided to hold the fall convention somewhere in the Middle West, preferably in Ohio. The group assembled went on record as censuring the hypocrisy of the "drinking-dry" legislators.

Mrs. Nicoll of New York read the letter which had been sent out to two hundred women representing many fields of endeavour and activity, asking them to serve on the State Advisory Council. Mrs. Orvis of Vermont suggested that an important first step in organizing a rural state, whose citizens read only the local papers, was to circularize statements about local conditions under Prohibition made by college presidents, lawyers, local en-

forcement officers, district nurses, etc. Mrs. Whitney of New York emphasized the necessity of a Publicity Committee to verify and approve all statements given out in the name of the Organization.

The following temporary officers were selected to hold office until the convention in the fall:

Chairman—Mrs. Sabin of New York

Vice-chairman—Mrs. Casserly of California

Vice-chairman—Mrs. Mather of Ohio

Secretary—Mrs. Nicoll of New York

One purpose stands out clearly in all the decisions reached at this meeting: that for the first year the WONPR should act primarily as a fact-finding body to study the actual workings of the Prohibition law. The wisdom of this emphasis has been proven by the subsequent history of the Organization.

The Chicago meeting was “news.” Over five hundred papers in the United States reported on the aims of “the organization which is out to fight the Drys.”

The *Chicago Tribune* said editorially: “The new movement, the WONPR, with its unimpeachable leadership should set a standard to which all American women who are alarmed at the consequences of Prohibition may rally.”¹

But it was left to Dr. Mary Armor, “The Georgia Cyclone,” President of the WCTU in her state, to rise

¹ June 1, 1929.

to the heights of zealous exhortation: "As to Mrs. Sabin and her cocktail-drinking women, we will out-live them, out-fight them, out-love them, out-talk them, out-pray them and out-vote them."²

II

As Secretary of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Dr. Clarence True Wilson's reaction to the founding of the WONPR was that the great home-loving, church-going Americanized body of women would stand by Prohibition through thick and thin. "The little group of wine-drinking society women," he said, "who are uncomfortable under Prohibition, will have as much influence in assaulting the Constitution of their country as they would have blowing soap bubbles at Gibraltar."³

This remark brought forth quick response. Said Congressman Britten of Illinois: "It ill becomes a professional lobbyist like Clarence Wilson to cast aspersions upon a group of respectable women who have set about to modify a silly law, just because he disagrees with their view."⁴ As for the women of the WONPR, they continued confidently enough to blow their "soap bubbles," but even they could hardly have guessed how soon the face of "Gibraltar" would be altered by that impact.

On returning from Chicago to New York, Mrs. Sabin and Mrs. Nicoll worked in two small rooms on East Forty-first Street as the headquarters of the newly-formed WONPR and devoted the summer months to the formation of a truly National Advisory Council. They first

² *New York Tribune*, June 18, 1930.

³ *New York American*, May 30, 1929.

⁴ *Tampa (Florida) Tribune*, May 30, 1929.

picked women to write to in various states from such lists as those of the Red Cross and Liberty Loan drives. This took time and careful thought, as they were determined that the women representing the WONPR should be outstanding in their respective communities as women of unimpeachable integrity, and known for their interest in public welfare and good citizenship. In this way they enlisted, to help them start state organizations, women who were invaluable in giving them the background in the states.

In New Jersey, less than a month after the Chicago Conference, Mrs. Paul Moore of Convent held a meeting of one hundred and twenty-five women from all sections of the state to organize a New Jersey WONPR. Mrs. R. Stuyvesant Pierrepont, as first chairman of the group, was immediately attacked by the Drys as a "Disloyal American," and her resignation from the Republican State Committee was demanded by Dry fellow members. She refused to resign, and went quietly to work educating and enlisting members for the new Organization. Over six thousand had joined within a year.

The Pennsylvania division was formed on December 6, 1929, at the home of Mrs. Herbert Lincoln Clark of Bryn Mawr. Most of those in attendance had for years been members of the Molly Pitcher Club, a pioneer anti-prohibition association. Mrs. Graham Dougherty was elected chairman of the Organization, and for three years continued to be the leading spirit in an extraordinarily active and devoted group. "These women immediately became personal targets for social, political and financial persecution and the blackest sort of misrepresentation," wrote their secretary, "also, letters of

protest from fanatical Drys poured into the office; some signed, others anonymous; some vicious, or repulsive, or obscene, or amusing. Hundreds of letters came from sincere persons who misunderstood our motives in working for Repeal. To these, personal replies were sent, and our files reveal many 'conversions' or near-conversions, as a result."

In Delaware, a state campaign for membership, launched by Mrs. Pierre S. du Pont in the summer of 1929, brought an immediate response. Four hundred and thirty-nine members were reported at the Cleveland meeting.

The Massachusetts Organization, under the leadership of Mrs. Lovett, was already making itself felt as an educational force; it had a membership of seven or eight thousand. Connecticut reported a similar membership. Rhode Island had a group of four hundred and fifty. Maryland was making a beginning, working with difficulty among people whose characteristic response was, "We are heart and soul with you, but don't put our names down!"

The New York State group, active from the beginning, organized formally in February, 1930. Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll was elected chairman, and Mrs. John Blair vice-chairman. A vigorous educational campaign by trained speakers was immediately undertaken. Through the expert management of Mrs. Blair, women's organizations were so thoroughly circularized that by the end of May, 1930, the New York State WONPR membership had reached 51,429. A questionnaire on the effects of ten years of Prohibition was sent out to seven thousand citizens by the State Investigation Committee headed by

Mrs. Cornelius N. Bliss, and the information thus collected was incorporated in the Wickersham Report and used in rebuttal before the Judiciary Committee in Washington, April, 1930.

In the Middle West, too, the leaven was working. The Michigan Organization, which had recruited most of its fifteen hundred and twenty-five members by canvassing the rural districts, was receiving contributions "in five and ten-cent pieces wrapped up in tissue paper." Mrs. Gertrude Bowler of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, had enrolled five hundred members in her own town, and twenty-five hundred more in the state. Ohio had twenty-five hundred members under Mrs. Mather's leadership. Kentucky had two thousand members under the chairmanship of Mrs. James Ross Todd and the vice-chairmanship of Mrs. Attwood Martin, probably the first woman writer to have protested against Prohibition as early as 1912, when the canteens at army posts were abolished. Minnesota and Indiana had not formally organized, but at the instigation of Mrs. Harriet Ford and Mrs. H. V. D. Moore of the New Jersey Organization, they were sending delegates to the Cleveland Conference. So also were Tennessee and Missouri. Even in Kansas, where "people thought the WONPR was run by brewers or a whisky ring," the Organization was making progress.

In the Far West, California had one of the earliest of the state organizations, with a membership of 15,000 and chairmen in eleven counties. Their leader, Mrs. Casserly, was writing and speaking against Prohibition in all the Pacific Coast states. She had broken down the attitude of resistance to the WONPR by distributing cards on which was printed the extract from Mr.

Hoover's Inaugural Address on law enforcement: "Our laws are made by the people themselves; *Theirs Is the Right to Work for Their Repeal.*" Also Oregon had a full-fledged Organization by the time the Cleveland Conference met.

Up and down the Pacific Coast plied Ford cars spreading the word that the women were organizing against Prohibition, while from Detroit their inventor was assuring the nation: "For myself, if booze ever comes back to the United States I am through with manufacturing. . . . I wouldn't be interested in putting automobiles into the hands of a generation soggy with drink."⁵

⁵ Henry Ford in the *Pictorial Review*, September, 1929.

Chapter III

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

April, 1930

I

WHEN the First National Conference of the WONPR opened at Cleveland, Ohio, on April 23rd, Mrs. Sabin called the roll of the states present, and twenty-nine answered. She announced that there were active Organizations in thirteen of those states and a total WONPR membership of one hundred thousand.

That same afternoon in a meeting of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions the question of Modification or Repeal was raised by the Chairman, Mrs. Ames of Massachusetts. Of the twenty-nine states represented, all but four voted for Repeal. While the representatives of these four states were personally for Repeal, they felt that their states were not sufficiently organized to permit their voting on the states' behalf. Throughout the whole Conference ran the conviction that Modification would not suffice and that unequivocal Repeal was the only way to treat the Eighteenth Amendment. This was at a time when there were few optimists in the country (aside from the so-called fanatics in the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and in the WONPR) who thought the Eighteenth Amendment could be changed within ten years. And these optimists felt the expedient course was to steer for the compromise of Modification

rather than fail in working for the impossible goal of Repeal. In fact it was not until two years later, in 1932, that the American Federation of Labor changed its objective from Modification to Repeal. But to the two hundred and fifty WONPR delegates meeting in April, 1930, there was no uncertainty—it was to be outright Repeal, or their fight would be lost.

The question also arose in the Resolutions Committee of the plan of liquor regulation for which the WONPR was to work. Would it be control by the government or by private enterprise? Mrs. Sabin's answer was definite and far-sighted: "New York advocates that each state decide its own liquor control, and its own methods of control."

Mrs. Joy of Michigan, as Conference Chairman, presided at the banquet session. Mrs. Carroll Miller of Pittsburgh spoke the keynote of the Cleveland Conference: "We hereby invite to join with us and we summon to our ranks all women who are unafraid, all women who dare face the truth, all women who desire temperance, all women who wish their country to grow in honor and respect for law."

Senator Tydings of Maryland was introduced next as the WONPR's "Glad Tydings." He welcomed "the women of this country on the formal beginning of a campaign to restore to the National Government the philosophy of its founders, to rekindle in the sovereign states the consciousness that there are sound reasons for the existence of the states."

During an Executive Session next day there was considerable discussion about changing the name of the "Women's Organization for National Prohibition Re-

form." Some felt it would be wise to omit the word "Reform," and substitute the word "Repeal." However, the sense of the meeting was that "Reform" was too valuable a word to abandon to the Drys, who claimed a monopoly on it, and that it truly represented the WONPR emphasis upon betterment of present conditions.

Mrs. Ames of Massachusetts, as Chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, moved that the WONPR adopt a Declaration of Principles. In this declaration were stated the reasons why the Organization was against Prohibition. The Organization declared for Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment "and the restoration to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits to be accompanied by adequate state regulatory enactments forbidding the return of the saloon and thereby responsive to the sentiments of the people and therefore capable of enforcement." The Principles also included the assertion that the people of the United States should be given an opportunity to pass judgment upon the question of the Eighteenth Amendment. "That this may be accomplished in an orderly way and in accord with constitutional procedure, the WONPR urges the Congress to submit to Conventions of the people in the several states, rather than to the legislatures thereof, a resolution for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment." These Principles were passed unanimously.

Writing this now, when the Eighteenth Amendment has been cast out of the Constitution by the overwhelming vote of our citizens, it is hard to believe that but three

years ago such a crusade was necessary among the women of America! It is hard to recollect the uncertainty and timidity which existed about Repeal so short a time ago.

The Principles declared at the Cleveland Conference served as the banner which the WONPR flung against the sky. Thousands had looked to find it. From now on, hundreds of thousands were to march beneath it until the Repeal for which it stood was an accomplished fact.

II

In the autumn of 1929, Mrs. Boole, as head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, was advocating the use of non-alcoholic fruit juices to prevent the violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. "We commend them," she said, "because they appeal to the taste, they are attractive to the eye, refreshing to the spirit and have only good effects 'the morning after.' " A mint julep with a ginger ale base was especially recommended. At the same time Mrs. Sabin, as head of the opposing forces, was advancing the use of State Conventions, instead of State Legislatures, for submission of the Eighteenth Amendment to the voters of the United States.

The State-convention method of ratification or rejection was a constitutional procedure which had not been utilized in the United States since 1788, when the Constitution was adopted by the Thirteen States. In fact, James W. Wadsworth, Jr., referred later to this State-convention method as something which not one person in ten thousand had ever heard of at the time Mrs. Sabin first advocated it. But Mr. Wadsworth knew this provision in the Constitution of his country; so did State Senator Nathaniel Elsberg of New York. And let it here

be said, with deep gratitude, that among the many friends which the WONPR had, none were ever more generous than these two men in giving it their valuable counsel and time.

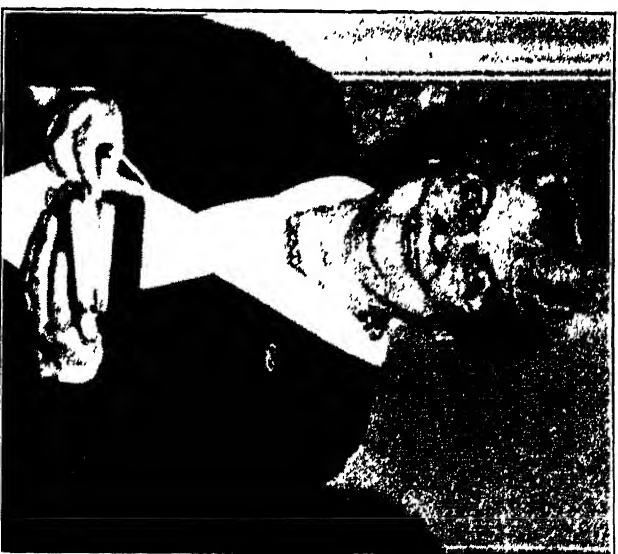
In leading the WONPR to be the first anti-prohibition organization to stand for these State Ratifying Conventions, Mrs. Sabin gave its members an early glimpse into the technicalities of the Constitution. In 1929 there was already a definite picture in her mind of these Conventions. Yet it was nearly four years before the daily press became equally enlightened. At the Cleveland Conference Mrs. Sabin told the WONPR:

The submission of an amendment by the Congress to conventions to be called within the several States, affords the truly democratic means of amending the constitution. Under this procedure each State would provide for the calling of a convention to be composed of delegates elected directly by the people of that State on the issue involved and in accordance with the election law of the State, employed for the purpose. The delegates would be elected on the one issue involved—the merits or demerits of the proposed amendment. The people in electing the delegates would be given an open opportunity to express their will and this is the only method provided in Article V by which their will can be expressed.

Throughout the whole struggle for Repeal, the idea of State Conventions continued to be as spiritually refreshing to Mrs. Sabin as the thought of fruit juices to Mrs. Boole. In order to find out the procedure to be followed for State Ratifying Conventions, the WONPR addressed an inquiry in September, 1932, to the American Bar Association. Upon receiving the reply that it was not within the province of this association to answer



Mrs. CHARLES H. SABIN
National Chairman of the WONPR
Photo by Edvard Thayer Monroe



Mrs. ELLA BOOLE
National President of the WCTU
Photo by Keystone-Underwood

such an inquiry, the WONPR determined to ask twenty authorities on constitutional law in the United States the following question:

“Does Article V of the Constitution give to Congress by implication the power to dictate the procedure whereby the State Conventions shall be organized to ratify proposed constitutional amendments?”

Sixteen of the twenty authorities held the opinion that Congress has the power to dictate the procedure for State Ratifying Conventions, while the remaining four believed that this power lies with the State Legislatures. Hardly any opinion, however, could be called unequivocal, because most of them were interlarded with “buts” and concluded with a warning that what was constitutionally pure in 1787 might not be expediently proper in 1933.

The WONPR also published a folder called “State Ratifying Conventions of 1787-88” which gave exact legislative records of the one precedent existing for the conventions held in 1933 to ratify the Amendment to Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Organization never lost an opportunity of advocating its belief in the State-convention method, and of attempting to explain the democratic value of this long unused procedure. If the American people were but allowed their constitutional right of expressing an opinion on the Eighteenth Amendment, the WONPR was confident of the outcome. The struggle was to force the legislators to give the voters such an opportunity.

Chapter IV

"WOMAN'S TONGUE LIKE THUNDERIN' GUN— DEAR LORD, DELIVER ME!"

THE delegates to the Cleveland Conference in 1930 returned home with the conviction that the future success of the WONPR rested with them as leaders of the state organizations. The history of the next year, therefore, is a record of unremitting activity in every part of the country. The first objective was the building up of a large and active Organization in each state, and everywhere intensive campaigns were launched to enlist members.

New state groups were formed in North Carolina, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Texas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Rhode Island and Vermont, usually with the assistance of Mrs. Sabin or Mrs. Nicoll who came on from National Headquarters for the opening meeting.

Each state tackled its task of enlisting members in its own way. In no two states were the problems involved the same, nor the difficulties of the same degree. Kansas, reporting the enrollment of one hundred and fifty members, "all of whom are willing to have their names published," might well be as proud of its achievement as Illinois, with its twenty-five thousand members within the first year.

Among the methods used to enroll members, the house-to-house canvass was among the most popular and effective. Women from Massachusetts to California braved the weather of public opinion, and learned to

take with equanimity the slamming of doors in their faces. Mrs. Langley, the first field organizer in New York State, began her work in Otsego County in August, 1930, and was promptly notified by the acting chief of police of Oneonta that she must get out of the county at once, as he had had word from the chief (then attending a police chiefs' conference in Rochester) that a Red organizer had been sent into the county and that he knew she was "it." An exchange of telegrams with the New York headquarters finally cleared the matter, and she was allowed to proceed with her canvass. In one town every door on the main street was banged in her face; in other places dogs were set at her. In the "Southern Tier" of counties she spent many days travelling from house to house, simply chatting with farmers and farmers' wives, holding on her lap their babies and discussing intimately with them in a friendly way the questions of Prohibition reform, or even their own daily problems. This did much to bring about a more tolerant attitude on their part.

In Michigan, the WONPR State Organization, "having been told the rural districts were dry," concentrated its attention upon the Rural Free Delivery routes, with the result that its membership became predominantly rural. Existing women's organizations of various sorts afforded a convenient means of reaching potential members. In California, WONPR speakers gave addresses before groups such as labor unions, laundry workers, waitresses' unions, and Native Daughters of the Golden West. In New York, the WONPR arranged a series of appearances before women's clubs, often with a Dry speaking on the same program. The year before, they

had sent circulars to the members of the following organizations: National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, Alumni of Barnard, Women's Medical Association, Nurses' Associations, League of Catholic Women, and Gold Star Mothers. In Pennsylvania, women on assessors' lists were circularized. Racial groups in various cities were canvassed by representatives of their own communities.

Booths at state and county fairs were found in many states to be convenient centers for the distribution of literature and the enlisting of members. In Missouri, Wisconsin, and Oregon these were particularly effective. With suggestive frequency these booths were located opposite those of the WCTU, which had long ago discovered this method of advertising, and felt that they had a peculiar claim on its use. In some cases permission to open a booth was refused by the authorities of the fair, and centers were established in local hotels, or publicity material and enrollment cards were distributed by individuals attending the fair. The Pennsylvania branch engaged booths at flower, food, and horse shows, and at the hotels, as well as fairs. In Kentucky, "the WCTU met with very little success in winning people away from the WONPR booth because our women were more amiable and laughed with the crowd instead of preaching to them."

Mrs. Casserly of New York tells of an amusing encounter which took place when she was campaigning in one of the county fairs in New York State. She was nearly knocked down by a Dry worker, who loudly called out that she must be a childless woman if she wished to get liquor back. Mrs. Casserly replied that

she was working against Prohibition because she had four children, and asked the Dry worker how many children she had. Her antagonist, hanging her head, replied that she had none, and walked off. Later she came back, saying that after thinking over their conversation she had realized she was in the wrong, and wished to acknowledge it. Later she signed a WONPR membership card and became one of its workers.

With this ferment of activity going on in the states, it is not surprising that membership cards began pouring into the National Headquarters in a veritable flood. The national membership reported at the Chicago meeting in April, 1930, was 100,000; when the Cleveland Conference convened in April, 1931, there were 300,000 members. Some of the new state organizations had made the most spectacular records. Michigan reported 30,100 members; Missouri 16,025; Rhode Island, with its small population, 2,120. Delaware was proud of having the largest membership in proportion to its population, with 2,288 enrolled. A large part of this membership was recruited by means of a "shop" kept open daily for one month, which served as a center of information and education, and provided daily talks by prominent citizens. A classification of Delaware members made shortly after the Cleveland meeting showed that in addition to housewives, who formed the majority, there were teachers, graduate nurses, social workers, business executives, secretaries, stenographers, clerks, and manual workers. Some of the states who reported the largest gains within the year were Massachusetts, which had increased its roll from 8,000 to 26,710; California, from 15,000 to 20,643; Ohio, from 2,500 to 12,000. New York held a

special campaign in December, 1930, to enlist members in Dry congressional districts, and its membership list shot up within three weeks from 65,000 to 71,000. This state organization kept a record of the occupations of its members, and found that more than fifty per cent were housewives. "The first heading on our list of occupations," wrote their secretary, "is actresses and the last is writers, and we have such interesting pursuits as astrologists, aviatrix, detectives, missionaries, policewomen and professional swimmers." A similar diversity of membership was characteristic of all the state organizations. Women of all classes, occupations and beliefs were being drawn, by hundreds of thousands, into a common effort—the one bond between them, a shared conviction that the hypocrisy of Prohibition must be ended.

In the meantime, while the membership totals were mounting, each state was working out a closely-knit, strong organization for itself. The characteristic structure was based upon the political divisions of the state: a leading woman was appointed as chairman for each county, and she in turn appointed local chairmen for the towns and rural districts. A state chairman coordinated and directed the work of the whole Organization. The Pennsylvania branch worked out, at its first state-wide conference in October, 1930, a plan of organization dividing up the sixty-seven counties into nine regions, each under a regional chairman. "The Regional Chairman's jurisdiction comprised the counties in definite Congressional Districts, each county managed by a County Chairman, with officers and committees modeled after the State Plan." Many local headquarters were established, and two state offices—one in Philadelphia,

and one in Harrisburg for the convenience of delegates expected from all parts of the state to call upon the legislators. In Connecticut, a special organization was set up for Hartford, with two leaders, one Republican and one Democratic, for each senatorial district, and under them two captains in each ward, and two lieutenants in each precinct. In all the states, committees were appointed to direct the various types of activities to be undertaken. Illinois, for example, had committees on finance, investigation, state organization, city organization, legislation, public speakers. Special organizations were established for foreign or racial groups in some localities. Michigan had organizations for Greeks, Russians, Roumanians, Ukranians, Poles and Negroes.

Mrs. Keith, Virginia Co-Chairman, is fond of quoting a Negro folk song which runs: "Woman's tongue like thunderin' gun—Dear Lord, deliver me!" This might have been used for the motto of the WONPR as it began, in 1930, to train its batteries upon the indifference and inertia of the public.

Everywhere, the women of the WONPR recognized it as one of their chief functions to arouse public opinion, masculine and feminine alike, against the paralyzing and demoralizing effects of the Prohibition Amendment. These women could not be silenced by friends or foes. They began a systematic campaign of publicity, through the press, by radio, by public mass meetings, by the distribution of printed material. New York and Missouri held free classes in public speaking to train their members for public appearances. Pennsylvania held debates and mass meetings, and members

were sent to address Italian and other non-English-speaking groups. Conventions of all organized women's groups were sent copies of the outline of the WONPR's educational program, notably the Pennsylvania division of the League of Women Voters, and the Council of Republican Women of Pennsylvania. Women's clubs, patriotic societies, college alumnae and other women's groups were circularized. In California, speeches were made before any organizations that would consent to listen. In Kentucky, debates were broadcasted by radio. In New York, "the women hurled verbal bombs from the platform and through the press and broadcasting stations." In Virginia, speakers plunged gallantly into the driest of Dry communities, and made themselves heard regardless of affronts.

In one Dry county [writes one of the workers] we were almost thrown out, and looked upon as lepers. However, we did arrange for a meeting which was well attended—by men and a few hardy women—two of whom signed our cards, thereby making of themselves, I am quite sure, social outcasts. . . . In the beginning, I was an object of opprobrium. I received insulting anonymous letters, and in passing me on the street some Drys would step from the sidewalk and draw back their skirts . . . Articles, thinly veiled, were published in the papers with slaps at our Organization and the hard-drinking women who ran it—women who only wanted whiskey. After I had spoken several times and published a number of articles and letters in which I mentioned I was personally dry, never touching liquor and never having bought a drop of illegal stuff, these charges were dropped.

The press viewed the performances of the WONPR with varying degrees of interest. In Wisconsin they were

mostly encouraging. New York's experience was perhaps typical. The State Chairman reported in 1930:

There has been an increase in publicity not only in the papers of Greater New York, but all through the State; and this is in spite of the fact that there is a chain of "Dry" newspapers controlled by Lewis Gannett of Rochester, which will not print anything about our Organization or about any work against Prohibition, if they can possibly help it. However, we find that there are times when they can't help it, because of the outstanding news interest of our activities. For instance, in Cattaraugus and Chautauqua Counties, which are both very Dry, we had an organizer working in September and October. And before the mass meeting which was held, on October 9th in Cattaraugus County, and on October 10th in Chautauqua County, the representatives from the "Dry" papers came to us and begged us to give them the story of the meetings, and they printed speeches made at those meetings, in full, in their papers. We were especially pleased about this, for it gives an indication of what can be done to force "Dry" newspapers to take notice of us, if we stir up enough activity in the county to make them afraid not to do so.

The standing in the community of the WONPR leaders was such that unfavorable and distorted publicity about them proved of greatest value to the Repeal cause. This was so in Elmira, New York, where Mrs. Lovell, Chemung County Chairman, sent a letter to the twelve thousand enrolled women voters of the country telling them of the WONPR objectives and asking them to join. The consequent Dry attack made the WONPR "news" in a locality where a Dry press had declined all mention of the Organization.

In many states, systematic publicity material was sent

to the press; Michigan released a story each month to three hundred newspapers. In other places, there was an effective use of printed circulars and other material, sent through the mail.

The Kentucky branch, organized and ready for service, found itself without the support of a single daily newspaper in Louisville or the State. They were blocked

SABIN'S SOB-SISTERS

SUNDAY NIGHT, 7:30 o'clock, Allan M. Laird will reply to "The Lovell Letter," tearing it to shreds with facts, ridicule and sarcasm. Mr. Laird knows "Prohibition, Reform" from A to Z—has seen the "Booze Business" in the world's largest cities, in mining communities, lumber camps, fishing villages, and in Canada.

IF YOU want to know the truth, hear this address. Not a dull moment from start to finish. Service opens with a worship program.

Better come early.

First Church of Christ

S. Main and Partridge Streets.

From The Elmira (N. Y.) Advertiser, March 21, 1931.

by "the stone wall of prejudice." A member of their Executive Committee tells how they made a breach in that stone wall:

In desperation, the officers approached a Louisville paper with a proposition to buy space on an advertising basis. Knowing something of the advertising rates of the local papers, they were astounded when told, courteously but firmly, that the space wanted, about three square inches, would cost them \$3,000.00 per month for publication once a week. As the Advertising Manager and his visitors were all blessed with a sense of humor, they laughed together good-naturedly over the terms. Our officers, knowing that this was merely a diplomatic, but effective way of declining support to the unpopular Wet Cause on any terms, then asked how a statement

could be made to the public, and were told that it could be given as news, but not as a direct statement from our organization, as that would be propaganda. They then asked what would make it news, and were advised that if it came in over the wire as an item of consequence, it would be news.

The Kentucky Branch then appealed by airplane letter to Mr. Pierre du Pont to repeat his statement about the evils of the Speakeasy. The next morning the local papers carried an Associated Press dispatch covering the statement of Mr. du Pont which the Kentucky Branch was not able to make for itself. Passing strange are the ways of newspaperdom!

Once the beginning was made, the Kentucky branch succeeded in conducting an extraordinarily effective program of newspaper publicity. A "pro and con" discussion was initiated in the "Point-of-View" column of the *Courier Journal* which grew to such proportions that the editor adopted a special heading, "The Prohibition Serial," under which contributions from both sides appeared. This particular line of publicity was continued through the succeeding years down to the Ratification Convention, and totaled some 571 columns of newspaper space. An afternoon paper, the *Herald Post*, invited the State Chairman, Mrs. Todd, to conduct an educational campaign in their paper, which she did under the heading of "Do You Know," giving many vital facts bearing on the Prohibition question. This column ran for about fifteen months, appearing once a week and sometimes oftener.

The most dramatic triumph of the Kentucky branch's publicity campaign, however, was the discovery and publication of the Jefferson Davis papers giving his views on Prohibition. The State Secretary, Miss Gense

J. Brashear, searching in a second-hand shop for old pewter, chanced upon an old scrapbook. Idly turning the leaves, she discovered newspaper clippings of a controversy of 1887, precipitated by the question of a proposed constitutional amendment in Texas, in which Jefferson Davis had stated his opposition to Prohibition, and had defended his position against an attack in the newspapers. After the newspaper clippings giving this controversy had been checked up and found authentic, the *Courier Journal* of Louisville published the story complete in its issue of July 12, 1931, as a front-page article, and the effect throughout the Southern States was most favorable to the Repeal cause. "At a time when we needed help in breaking through the wall of prejudice in the South," wrote the historian of the Kentucky branch, "there came the voice of the Southern Chieftain giving his views on individual liberty and moral responsibility. It was a timely discovery."

The firing of "thunderin' guns" was not, however, the sole preoccupation of the WONPR during this eventful year. No less significant were the beginnings of research and investigation which engaged some of the best talent of the Organization. The standard had been set by the monumental Report to the National Law Enforcement Commission prepared by the New York State Organization in March, 1930, and the subsequent statement presented in rebuttal by Mrs. Anne O'Hagan Shinn before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

In North Carolina, a study was made of the effects of Prohibition on Negroes, based upon reports from ministers and social workers. Early in 1930 a survey of the

criminal courts in Philadelphia County and City was undertaken by Mrs. Morris Wolf of the Pennsylvania branch and fourteen members of her Research Committee. It covered a period of one-hundred days, and a compilation of reports of the committee members resulted in the startling revelation that sixty-six per cent of all cases tried were for violation of Prohibition laws, and that fifty per cent of them were due to "bad liquor." The results, widely publicized, were a severe indictment of Prohibition.

The District of Columbia WONPR took a poll of the members of Congress in the spring of 1930, to ascertain their stand on Repeal and offered to serve as a clearing house for all states for the Prohibition stand of members of Congress.

Delaware formed a new committee to develop a research and information service, "including conditions of liquor control in the State before and after Prohibition, and also the practical effects, giving the number of arrests, violations, fines, etc., federal and state."

The Massachusetts Organization instituted a "Sobriety Committee" of five Wets and five Drys to attempt an agreement on some plan of state liquor control. In New York a similar study was initiated. "Feeling the importance of constructive plans for the future," reported the Chairman, "we called together a Conference Group made up of prominent people, representing the best interests of the community, to plan for a sane system of liquor control for New York State to take effect after the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment."

Most significant, as a presage of the future, was the political work of the WONPR during this year 1930-31.

It is true that this activity was confined largely to state politics. But the experience gained thus in the methods of exerting pressure upon voters and legislators was in large measure responsible for the vigorous, efficient, self-assured way in which the women carried through the crucial campaigns of the succeeding years. Only brief illustrations of this activity can be cited here.

"The Wet and Dry issue doesn't enter politics in our state any more. A bone-dry wouldn't think of running for anything. He wouldn't get to first base." This was the confident report from Wisconsin in 1930. On the other hand, most of the state organizations were finding immediate need of political work. In Missouri, a delegation of thirty was sent to appear before the Judiciary Committee of the State Legislature to urge the passage of a bill for a state referendum on Repeal—and incidentally to engage in a lively skirmish with the Anti-Saloon League lobbyist who finally admitted he was trying to prevent the people of the state from expressing their opinion on the question. In the Michigan primaries, the WONPR participated in the defeat of two prominent Drys: one was Hudson, former State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League and the other, Crampton, former Dry Leader in the House. The Ohio Organization was active in helping get out of committee the first bill for the repeal of Prohibition enforcement laws.

In Delaware, the support of the WONPR did much, in the Democratic primaries of 1930, to bring about the nomination of a Wet, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, as candidate for the United States Senate. As soon as Mr. Bayard declared openly for Repeal, the Organization sent out a

letter to each of its members urging his nomination. This letter, published in the newspapers, had the effect of an open appeal to the women of the state. An automobile corps was organized in Wilmington for the last day of registration, and a similar one for the day of the primaries. An effort was made, though without success, to inject the Prohibition issue into the Republican Convention of that year. Just before the November elections, the WONPR held a mass meeting in Wilmington which attracted much attention throughout the state, and in connection with this meeting "educational propaganda of every useful sort was developed . . . both for the purpose of drawing an audience and for informing the public generally on the subject of Repeal and WONPR work. Besides the press publicity, letters, flyers, placards, radio, and printed announcements were dropped from an airplane over villages and farms, and a band played outside the theater before the meeting. All this brought an audience which well filled the house and which was markedly larger than the audience at a Republican rally in the same house the week before at which Vice-president Curtis and Senator Hastings spoke." In the legislature, this Organization was active in support of a bill to repeal the Klair law, Delaware's enforcement act, and a bill drawn and presented by the Delaware WONPR providing for a referendum of the people of the state on repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. In this connection an "Information Bulletin" was published which was a model of clarity and forceful statement.

The Pennsylvania branch was plunged into two bitterly fought political campaigns in the first year of its

existence: first, the spring primaries of 1930, and then the November election of that same year. Their state historian tells the story:

Upon the refusal of the regular Republican candidates to come out squarely for or against Prohibition, the Repeal Organizations entered candidates pledged to a Repeal platform, and a vigorous and colorful fight was waged on behalf of Thomas W. Phillips, Jr., for Governor, Charles Dorrance, for Lieutenant Governor, and Francis H. Bohlen, for United States Senator. With but two months in which to build up an Organization to compete with the fifty-year-old Republican machine, Thomas W. Phillips, Jr., polled 281,399 votes for Governor against 632,719 counted for the successful candidate, Gifford Pinchot, self-styled Independent, and 612,620 credited to Francis Shunk Brown, regular Republican candidate. This apparent defeat was, in reality, the greatest forward stride taken for Repeal in this State, and encouraged the Repealists to back John M. Hemphill, Liberal and Democratic candidate for Governor, in opposing "dry" Gifford Pinchot. The battle for Hemphill's election continued through the summer, and in November, although tradition was shattered in this hide-bound Republican State by an official count of 1,009,732 votes for Hemphill, as against 1,036,605 for Pinchot, our Organization, disappointed, but not daunted, turned to a bombardment of Pennsylvania's members in the Congress, and in the General Assembly. Candidates and incumbents were persistently subjected to questionnaires and personal visits from constituents; voting by members of both bodies on matters related to our cause was closely watched, and opponents were called to a strict accounting. Mrs. Charles M. Lea, Congressional and Legislative Chairman, with members of her committee, was present at sessions in Harrisburg. The so-called "whiskey women" were, like earlier apostles in a great cause, treated contumeliously. Only one thing

was appreciated—the WONPR always sat on the side lines instead of in the seats as did the WCTU. When Mr. Dougherty took to task one of our State Senators for evasion on the Prohibition issue, in answering our County Chairman in his District, he replied in a surly tone and rudely—"that he didn't represent the County Chairman, as she was a Democrat."

Political headquarters were established wherever possible, in charge of volunteer workers in the drive to elect the Repeal candidates, Phillips, Dorrance and Bohlen. At the suggestion of Mrs. Lewis Laurence Smith, a survey of the State was made. Every county chairman was required to follow up each State and Federal candidate, and each political office holder in her district, from Committeeman to Senator, to drive them out into the open and force them to stop straddling the Prohibition question.

Dramatic proof of the growing political power of the WONPR was shown in Illinois in the senatorial election of 1930. Led by Mrs. Wheeler and Mrs. Mitchell, State Co-chairmen, the WONPR, cooperating with the Crusaders, launched a campaign to induce the Republicans to adopt a Wet plank in their platform, which had always been dry. A group of their leaders was called in to present their views before a conference of Republican leaders of the state, including the Governor and Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick, the Republican candidate for United States Senator. A heated discussion ensued, which nevertheless left the Republican leaders unconvinced. "We predicted, that night, defeat for the Republican party in the polls in November unless an out-and-out liberal plank was put in their platform," wrote one of the WONPR representatives.

When the Republican platform as adopted was found

to contain only a pledge to abide by results of a referendum on the Wet and Dry question, the WONPR decided to throw all its influence in favor of the Democratic candidate, J. Hamilton Lewis. This was a momentous decision for more than one reason. It was the first case in which the WONPR, though composed of both Republicans and Democrats, gave its endorsement to the candidate of one of the parties because of his stand for Repeal. Moreover, ironically enough, it committed a woman's organization to an active battle against a woman candidate—a stand which cost her the support even of many of her personal friends. The result of the election demonstrated strikingly the strength of Repeal sentiment in the state. The referendum went overwhelmingly Wet, and Lewis, who was an out-and-out Wet, was elected by the greatest majority ever given a Senator in Illinois.

These victories might have been heeded, by acute observers, as significant "signs of the times." But there were many who still agreed with the poetic outburst of Senator Sheppard of Texas, the author of the Eighteenth Amendment: "There is as much chance of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment as there is for a humming bird to fly to the planet Mars with the Washington Monument tied to its tail!"¹

When the state leaders of the WONPR assembled for the Second National Conference at Washington in April, 1931, it was with the exhilarating knowledge that they were part of a flourishing Organization of national scope. Their membership was numbered in hundreds

¹ Associated Press dispatch, Washington, September 24, 1930.

of thousands. Their organization was efficient and responsive. They had launched upon a program of publicity, of education, of research, of political action that was making its influence felt in every community in the country. They were by way of becoming a power.

Chapter V

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

RESOLUTION FOR DIRECT POLITICAL ACTION

April, 1931

THE Second National Conference was held in Washington, April 14th and 15th. The total WONPR membership had leapt from one hundred thousand at the First National Conference in Cleveland, a year before, to three hundred thousand. Active organizations were now reported in thirty-three states. The Mayflower Hotel, as Conference Headquarters, was the scene of large, enthusiastic crowds. Miss Wetmore of Rhode Island and Mrs. Van Rensselaer of New York, the Committee on Arrangements, clicked off the conference with clock-like precision.

To an outsider at the Conference meetings, the whole scene was one of singular efficiency and expedition, as reflected in numerous press comments. Five hundred delegates were expected; eight hundred came. Yet there was a place arranged for everyone and almost everyone had a particular responsibility to fulfill. The divisions met in the corridor and marched into the Conference Hall under state banners to sit in their allotted group of seats. WONPR pages were ubiquitous and ready to assist in every emergency. Each state had put representatives on the Committees on Rules, on Resolutions, on Constitution and By-Laws, on Ways and Means, on Publicity, and on Political Activities. With the official open-

ing of the Conference, motions were put and seconded that these committees meet in certain designated rooms that afternoon to transact their business and report back to the next morning's Executive Session. If there were any controversial points the state divisions could meet in caucus that night to reach a delegation decision in readiness for the morrow's discussion. There was never a pause in the parliamentary proceedings of the Conference, which reflected the labor that had gone into planning out the details in advance. No one could ever complain of being bored at these Conferences, because something was happening every minute. No one could ever complain of not being able to get in her say. "Please don't hesitate to have full discussion. That's what you are here for," Mrs. Sabin, as Chairman, often reminded the Conference.

In her address of welcome, Miss Gurnee, of the District of Columbia, told the Conference that several Senators and Congressmen of the Wet Bloc had recently remarked that the WONPR's signal service had been that of throwing the mantle of respectability over the whole movement against Prohibition. Such a remark seems fantastic now. But it is not to be forgotten that three years ago Repeal was an unpopular, mistrusted cause, since it called for revolt against an Amendment in the Constitution of the United States.

In her report at the opening session, Mrs. Sabin said: "The findings spread upon the pages of the Wickersham Report, the separate statements of all but one of its eleven members, compose a document which should be adopted as the handbook of the Anti-Prohibitionists. Though by some feat of Japanese sword-swallowing, the

Commission managed in its summing up as a unit to eat its own words, nevertheless for the findings which it spread upon the record and for the plain demand of ten of its eleven members for Repeal or Revision, we owe it a debt of gratitude."

Mrs. August Belmont of New York followed by referring to the WONPR as the modern temperance movement. She ended with the plea: "I have a passionate resentment to the amount of time and attention that this subject is taking from the American people. There is only one way, however, to move it out of the center of the picture. That is to concentrate on and push it away and put it where it belongs. But don't have it occupying every session of Congress and the thought of capable people throughout the country. I believe that this Organization has a very real mission to perform in doing that."

Within an hour after Mrs. Belmont had said this, the Resolutions Committee was meeting to discuss direct political action, the quickest method of moving the subject of Prohibition out of the center of the picture. As the committee was gathering there were some misgivings heard. One lady, who came of a Republican family for generations, whispered that she heard there was to be brought up at the meeting a resolution to vote only for Wet candidates for office. But she could never vote for a Democrat, she allowed in full voice.

When the meeting convened, among the resolutions offered by the various states was the following one from New York:

WHEREAS, in 1929 the WONPR was organized to record the dissatisfaction of the women of the United

States with conditions resulting from the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act; and,

WHEREAS, in 1930 the WONPR, in order to overcome such conditions, undertook to work for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and return to each state of its power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages; and,

WHEREAS, such repeal and return of power to each state requires action by Congress and the legislatures of the States; and,

WHEREAS, the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act, with their consequent abuses of wide-spread intemperance, hypocrisy and corruption, threaten the structure of our Government and create an issue so important as to transcend party affiliations,

BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this Conference that in order to effect the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the WONPR urge its members to support only those candidates for public office who have openly declared themselves in favor of the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

There was very little discussion of this resolution, and it was unanimously approved and forwarded to the Political Activities Committee. Even the rock-ribbed Republican lady voted "Aye." When faced with the actuality, the women saw that the one way to take Prohibition out of the Constitution was by the same political method that had put it in: namely, the method of voting for candidates on the basis of that issue. The country seemed mesmerized into feeling nothing could be done. But if three hundred thousand women cared enough about repealing the Eighteenth Amendment to make that their sole political objective, there was hope. The first step towards effective action was taken in that

small Resolutions Committee when they agreed to offer to the Conference next day a resolution urging WONPR members to support only candidates for office who had declared themselves in favor of Repeal. The following day, having been approved by the Committee on Political Activities, this resolution was unanimously passed in the Executive Session of the Conference without discussion or remarks.

The banquet which took place the first evening was a gala affair. There were almost eight hundred guests, and tables had to be squeezed into balconies and halls. Speaking after the dinner, Matthew Woll, Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, told the WONPR that three hundred thousand of their local unions throughout the country stood ready to cooperate in this crusade against the tyranny of the Eighteenth Amendment. His fervid address was greeted with prolonged applause in appreciation of such a valuable new ally as the American Federation of Labor.

Led by Mrs. Sabin, Mrs. Nicoll, and Mrs. Lovett of Massachusetts, over five hundred of the WONPR delegates were received at the White House the following morning. Mrs. Nicoll, as National Secretary, presented Mr. Hoover with a petition which affirmed the conviction of the WONPR that only upon the principle of state control, responsive to the sentiment of the people and therefore capable of enforcement, could a solution be found for the liquor problem.

At the final Executive Session of the Conference, Mrs. Casserly of California emphasized the local political experience necessary for carrying out the purpose ex-

pressed by the resolution of the day before for direct political action:

I am going to recommend that all of our state members should take an active interest in political organizations of the state, and that they begin in their own precincts, each and every one of them, to find out the methods by which people are elected to public office. Many women are afraid of the publicity that attaches to the major political activities and avoid them, but the precinct where they vote is something that everyone can and should understand, and it is in reality the foundation stone on which the whole political structure is built. Without political education and activity all our enthusiasm for the cause of anti-Prohibition, while edifying and inspiring, is lost, because we are working against a highly organized, well-financed body of Drys who have made it their business to obtain control of the key positions in our whole system of government. If we are to succeed, we must face these facts. We must become politically minded; we should exercise the franchise in favor of candidates who openly espouse our cause, and we should take the trouble to see that such candidates for office get the support that their courage deserves from all of us who feel that the future and the honor of the country is at the present moment in jeopardy.

One of the Washington papers remarked that the outstanding fact about the women's activities at the WONPR Conference was their determination to force Prohibition as an issue into the 1932 campaign, in spite of all the efforts of the leading politicians to keep it in the background. The conviction that they could and would do this was uppermost in the minds of the WONPR delegates as they left Washington to return home to those politicians' bailiwicks.

II

Legislators had held the traditional belief that all women were in favor of Prohibition. The WONPR showed them their mistake. Yet the legislators had still to learn that these women were free lances, asking and wanting nothing politically for themselves, merely determined that the citizens be given a chance through State Conventions to express their opinion of the Eighteenth Amendment. Would the legislator vote for submission? Yes or no? This answer was the *sine qua non* of the WONPR.

Therefore in accordance with a resolution passed by the WONPR National Executive Committee the following letter was sent to each member of both Houses of the Seventy-Second Congress in September, 1931:

My dear —,

Will you please help us in our effort to observe and consider the attitude of the Seventy-second Congress toward the question of national prohibition by giving us your answer to the following question:

“Will you vote to consider—and will you vote in favor of—a proposal under Article V of the Constitution of the United States for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment thereto, to be submitted to conventions in the several states for ratification or rejection?”

You will see at once that we are not asking you to tell us whether you favor or oppose the Eighteenth Amendment. We are asking you only whether you are willing to permit the people of the United States to vote state by state on the question of retention or repeal of the Amendment.

You may personally oppose the repeal of this Amendment and yet properly vote to allow the people of the

United States to say whether or not they wish this Amendment to remain in the Constitution.

Surely a member of Congress may now, after these twelve years of trial, "deem it necessary" to submit this question to the people of the United States for decision one way or the other. Our people are torn by dissension over it. The country is in a deplorable, even a dangerous condition, because of the bitterness engendered. The time is ripe for a decision. It is only you five hundred and thirty-one gentlemen of the Congress—two thirds of you in each house—who can now put the machinery in motion to permit the people to deliver their opinion and their decision upon this literally momentous question.

We believe that you can now do no greater service to your country than to allow this extraordinarily troublesome question to come to an issue at the hands of the people. We hope that you will agree with this statement and therefore answer our question in the affirmative.

We enclose an addressed stamped reply envelope, and wish to express in advance our deep appreciation of the courtesy you will exercise in your consideration of this letter.

Very respectfully,
 Pauline Morton Sabin
 (Mrs. Charles H. Sabin)
 National Chairman

The WONPR announced on December 1, 1931 the following results of the questionnaire:

"Of the five hundred and thirty-one members of the Congress, 43.3 per cent replied. In other words, two hundred and fifty-one letters were received. Of this number 59.3 per cent favored submission; 19.5 per cent were opposed to submission and 21.1 per cent were non-committal."

	Senate	House
For submission	15	134
Against submission	15	34
Non-committal	14	39
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	44	207

It was at this time that Senator Henry F. Ashurst (Democrat) of Arizona wrote to Mrs. Nona Shelton, WONPR State Chairman:

Nov. 24, 1931

I am opposed to a referendum on the liquor; there is no method under our Federal Constitution by which a Referendum, such as is evidently proposed, could legally be submitted. I believe if a Referendum could be obtained, that forty-two of the forty-eight states of our Federal Union would vote dry, at least I hope they would. The people have too much judgment to return to legalized intoxicants.

Fifteen months later Senator Ashurst voted for the Blaine Repeal Resolution which required that the Twenty-first Amendment to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment be submitted to State Conventions. Merely the constitutional phraseology for requiring "a referendum on the liquor."

Mrs. Sabin received this suggestion from Congressman Jeff Busby (Democrat) of Mississippi:—

Nov. 2, 1931.

National Prohibition does not need "reforming." The Great Need as I see it is to "Reform" some of the people, the women especially, who call themselves "wet" and who are using every possible effort to defeat the Eighteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

I will appreciate it if you will quit sending me your circulars.

The WONPR had a disturbing way, for a women's organization, of holding to facts and keeping them on file. Royal C. Johnson (Republican), Congressman from South Dakota, replied to the above questionnaire by saying he had Mrs. Sabin's letter but that he never discussed any issue except with constituents. Therefore he was listed in the WONPR poll as non-committal. Shortly afterward Mrs. Sabin received the following letter from Kent Cooper, general manager of The Associated Press:

December 11, 1931.

My dear Mrs. Sabin:

In your announcement of December 1 giving a report on the results of a poll of the members of the Seventy-Second Congress, undertaken by your organization, the name of Royal C. Johnson, South Dakota, appears as one whose reply was non-committal.

Mr. Johnson has written us that he did not answer the inquiry of your organization and he does not believe the other one hundred and forty-eight members of the House answered it. "I know that many of them did not," he adds.

Mr. Johnson feels that your organization has not been fair to The Associated Press in that it misrepresented the facts.

Will you kindly tell me what evidence you have that Mr. Johnson's reply was non-committal? I would welcome a copy of his reply.

To which Mrs. Sabin replied:

December 12, 1931.

Dear Mr. Cooper:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 11th in which you tell me that Royal C. Johnson

of South Dakota has written you that he did not reply to the inquiry of our Organization.

I enclose a copy of Mr. Johnson's reply.

You further state that Mr. Johnson expresses doubt as to the veracity of the other replies from members of the Congress, which we gave to the Press.

I must take exception to his statement.

I would appreciate it if you would call Mr. Johnson's attention to the fact that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform does not give out statements unless it can substantiate them.

The replies which we received from the members of the Congress, to our letter, can be seen at our office by any one interested, at any time.

A copy of the letter to Mr. Cooper was sent by Mrs. Sabin to Mr. Johnson requesting he either retract or furnish proof of his statement. Several weeks later Mr. Johnson replied with:

January 25, 1932.

My dear Mrs. Sabin:

Your letter of December 14, 1931 should have been answered before, but I have been too busy to write.

Looking over my files I find that I did answer your letter.

That being a fact I regret that I wrote Mr. Cooper that it was not answered.

It goes to show that anyone makes a mistake in breaking a good rule.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) Royal C. Johnson.

In Ohio, Mrs. Mather, State Chairman, made a determined effort to discover whether Mr. Fess, the senior Senator from that state, would vote to let the citizens express their opinion of the Eighteenth Amendment:

November 14, 1931.

My dear Senator Fess:

I am amazed to learn that you have not answered any one of the three communications addressed to you by our National Chairman, Mrs. Charles H. Sabin.

Is it really possible that you are unwilling to submit to your constituents the question of the repeal or retention of the Eighteenth Amendment?

I am writing to ask for a definite reply before any publicity is given to these questionnaires.

Yours very truly,
Katherine Hoyt Mather

Senator Fess' answer of November 16, 1931 follows:

My dear Mrs. Mather:

I have your letter of November 14th and am somewhat surprised that you are amazed because I do not answer propaganda letters.

I have never allowed myself to be a party to any propaganda either put out by the liquor people or those opposed. As a legislator, I confine my effort on matters of this sort to the halls of legislation, all of which is a matter of record and anyone who desires to have my conviction on public questions will find it if they will take the time to look in the Record.

Yours very truly,
Simeon D. Fess.

To which Mrs. Mather replied:

November 21, 1931.

My dear Senator Fess:

I am again amazed and surprised but this time by the tone of your reply to me. May I ask why you should consider a perfectly straightforward letter, asking you a direct question from one of your constituents, as "propaganda" from "the liquor people"?

You state that as a legislator you confine your efforts on matters of this sort to the halls of legislation. This

seems to me a most evasive reply. I have not asked you for your personal convictions regarding the success or failure of National Prohibition. All that I am asking is for you to tell me in order that I in turn may inform the thousands of women in Ohio who are your constituents as to whether or not you are willing to give them an opportunity of voicing their opinion on an issue which is uppermost in the minds of American citizens today.

You are not only the senior Senator from the state of Ohio but you are also the Chairman of the Republican National Committee; therefore all the Republicans throughout the United States have a right to demand a straightforward answer from you.

I must again request that you give me the courtesy of a reply either in the affirmative or negative.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Hoyt Mather.

Senator Fess answered:

November 26, 1931.

My Dear Mrs. Mather,

I have just read your letter commenting upon my reply to your former letter. I regret that you seem to have been displeased over my attitude toward propaganda.

I can only repeat that I pay no attention to propaganda letters without regard to source. During the bonus agitation there were 1,061 pieces of mail which came to the office on the first delivery one morning, which was only one of five deliveries a day. All of that mail was thrown into the waste-basket, first, because it represented no intelligent thought on the part of the sender; and second, it was nothing but an effort of manufactured clamor.

It has ever been my practice to confine my utterances on matters of legislation to the floor of House or Senate during the twenty years I have served in these two bodies. I do not permit anyone to assume the authority

to call the Senate roll and expect the Senators to answer to their names. Everything that is said and done in House and Senate is a matter of record. If you have any desire to know my position on any subject of legislation, the record is open, and if you do not care to take the time or do not have the time, I shall be very glad to have my clerks send you the specific information of my votes as well as the speeches I have made on the subject of interest to you.

As to future legislation, I will take my position with the same freedom, unhesitatingly, without fear or favor, but I will not allow any person from any source of authority whether it be liquor interest or prohibition interest to implicate me in any form of propaganda for or against any cause, and I have a right to assume that one of your position and intelligence will approve of that position.

Yours very truly,
Simeon D. Fess

Chapter VI

IN FULL SWING

LINCOLN STEFFENS in his autobiography speaks of "the women's gift of straight-seeing, practical intelligence which makes for direct action." If this gift was demonstrated in the practical resolutions adopted by the Second National Conference at Washington, it received further confirmation in the work of the state organizations in the year which followed. Direct political action became the primary objective of the WONPR.

This does not mean, however, that the organization and publicity aspects of its task were neglected. These activities were rather intensified, in order that the greatest possible weight might be brought to bear upon the political situation when the time for that pressure arrived. A brief review of these efforts will suffice to show their extent and effectiveness.

Thirty-four states of the Union had state branches of the WONPR by April of 1932, including new organizations in Florida, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Georgia, New Mexico and Wyoming. The total national membership, having doubled in the past twelve months, was now 600,000. New York had the largest membership, with 166,000 enrolled—an increase of 74,194 over the previous year. Special committees, including a Service League of younger women, a Business and Professional Women's Group, a Women's Hotel Committee and a Committee of Foreign-born Women, had been largely responsible for this enormous increase. Ohio had car-

ried on an intensive campaign resulting in an increase of 53,167 during the year. The city of Dayton, alone, had enrolled 20,000 in two weeks. Other States with very large memberships were Michigan with 59,603; Illinois with 55,000—double the previous year's membership; Missouri with 34,204; Pennsylvania with 34,000; Massachusetts with 33,403; New Jersey with 23,938—also a doubled enrollment; Connecticut with 22,000, and Wisconsin with 20,000. Rhode Island showed a two-hundred per cent increase, many of its new recruits having been obtained by working through heads of departments and managers in establishments employing women: hotels, clubs, factories, cleaning and dyeing works, department stores and the like.

The task of arousing and educating public opinion in favor of Repeal was vigorously carried forward, and in this work the Organization found it expedient in many places to cooperate with other anti-Prohibition groups. In Tennessee, meetings were held in cooperation with labor organizations, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and the American Legion. In California, the WONPR and the Crusaders maintained joint headquarters in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and much assistance was given by the American Federation of Labor. In Texas, at the suggestion of the WONPR, an Advisory Council was formed to coordinate all repeal endeavors, consisting of the Chairmen of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Crusaders, the Tax Reduction League, the Compromisers, and the Temperance League for Liquor Control. Cooperation was also maintained with all labor union chairmen in the state.

Throughout the United States mass meetings were held to bring before the public the WONPR's determination to Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. In Nebraska, debates on Prohibition were held under the auspices of the Organization's public-speaking committee. In New Mexico, preparations were made for a speaking tour conducted in two languages, because thirty-five per cent of the state population was Spanish-speaking. New York maintained a Speakers' Bureau, and established institutes through the state. In Illinois relations were established with groups of Swedish, Polish, Norwegian, Bohemian and German voters. The "thunderin' guns" continued to reverberate.

Publicity material in the foreign-language press of the country became an important means of influencing public opinion. Through the Committee of Foreign-born Women the WONPR secured ample space in the New York foreign newspapers; in Ohio the aid of twenty-two foreign-language papers was enlisted. Colorado found great publicity value in an extended press controversy aroused by an address given in Denver by Mrs. Sabin. The Tennessee Organization maintained a weekly column in six newspapers, and was instrumental in starting a Wet newspaper in Nashville.

The Delaware branch, continuing its vigorous program of public information, made a house-to-house canvass in Wilmington to determine the Repeal attitude of the people, and also to gather information on conditions resulting from Prohibition. This material was made the basis of an educational campaign. In January, 1932, they issued a particularly effective bulletin entitled "Why Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment?" which was

sent to all WONPR members, to the officers of women's clubs and parent-teachers' associations, to active political leaders of both parties, and to a selected list of business and professional men, and citizens at large.

Perhaps no publicity device was more colorful and effective than that devised for the WONPR by Mrs. Christian Holmes and Mrs. Mabel Eichel of the New York Organization: the "Motorcade." In May of 1931 a procession of automobiles, triumphantly led by these two women, toured the Dry counties of the state. "Imagine the excitement in small upstate towns," wrote one of the participants, "when gaily decorated motor cars, varying in design from open roadsters to elaborate limousines, all bearing 'Repeal' banners, and heralded by State Troopers on motorcycles, swept through the main streets. Loud speakers amplified the addresses of the various speakers, while our pioneer organizer, Mrs. Adria Locke Langley, kept up a constant 'ballyhoo.' The street crowds, the crowds from the factories and after-theatre audiences found the appeals convincing, and in ever-increasing numbers signed our WONPR membership cards." It was shortly after this that Mrs. Langley, organizing in Schuyler County, found herself being called on by forty-two delegations of women representing forty-two different church congregations who asked her to leave the county immediately. She received the delegations cheerfully and remained to do her work.

It will be remembered that the Washington Conference in 1931 had passed a memorable resolution "to support only those candidates for public office who have openly declared themselves in favor of the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment." This resolution became

the keynote of the political activities of the Organization during the succeeding year. The first step in carrying out this resolution was to organize the voting strength of the membership. Each state worked out its own methods for bringing about concerted action, but the plans used in New York and Pennsylvania illustrate their variety. New York depended primarily upon an information service conducted by its Legislative Committee under the leadership of Mrs. Marion Booth Kelley. This committee issued a bulletin, sent every month to the County Chairmen and to members of the Advisory Council, to give information on the political situation. "The Legislative Chairman has also sent letters of information to the County legislative chairmen about the primaries, and registration and enrollment in the political parties. Also our Legislative Chairman has sent out to all the County Chairmen the records, on the Prohibition question, of the men who are running as delegates and alternates to the National Republican and Democratic Conventions. Information has been sent as to their vote on re-submission of the Eighteenth Amendment, their vote on Repeal planks in party platforms and as to whether or not they signed the petition of one hundred forty-five in the House to vote to discharge the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the Beck-Linthicum Resolution, and how they voted later on that measure."

Pennsylvania, on the other hand, found it more effective to use a system of personal contacts to insure voting. "Members in the counties are listed alphabetically. There is a cross index of voting addresses. In this way every woman in a voting precinct can be checked. It is

possible for a key woman in each precinct to concentrate voting strength in this way, or to reach women for organized activity when necessary."

This "voting strength" was mustered whenever there was an opportunity to vote for any candidate who had declared for Repeal, as against one who had not so declared. In New York the WONPR entered assembly-district fights in counties in which Wet candidates were running against Drys. "The outstanding contest was in Livingston County, where Senator Wadsworth's son, James J. Wadsworth, was running against an out-and-out Dry, and where the Drys were making every effort to beat him. In spite of this strongly organized opposition he won by more than thirty-five hundred and increased the Republican plurality of last year by more than fifteen hundred." The WONPR forces in this contest were led by Mrs. Porter Chandler.

In New Jersey the Organization published the results of a questionnaire showing that the Republican candidate for Governor, David Baird, Jr., was dodging the issue of Prohibition, and its influence helped to bring about his defeat in the 1931 election. The Pennsylvania branch took a vigorous stand against Gifford Pinchot for Governor, and against General Smedley D. Butler, candidate for the United States Senate.

In the fall of 1931 the National Executive Committee of the WONPR, meeting in New York, passed a resolution calling to the attention of its members the importance of the spring primaries, at which delegates to the National Conventions of both parties would be elected in many states.

A determined effort was made to secure the enroll-

ment of WONPR members in their respective parties, so that they would be eligible to vote in the primaries. Wherever there was doubt as to the Repeal stand, either of candidates for delegates to the Party Conventions or of candidates for nomination as Congressmen, persistent and public attempts were made to bring the question into the open, and then to support strongly those candidates, in either party, who took a stand against Prohibition. Mention has already been made of the publicity work conducted by the New York Legislative Committee in connection with the 1932 primaries. In Minnesota, questionnaires were sent to candidates for Congress before the primary election. The Minnesota membership was then circularized with the names of endorsed candidates in each party. Following the primary, a list of candidates for the general election was endorsed, and printed dodgers carrying their names were circulated.

In New Jersey the WONPR always benefited by the unwavering Repeal stand of Congresswoman Norton. At this time the chief, though indirect, issue at stake in the New Jersey primaries was the question of the repeal of the Hobart act, the state enforcement law.

After struggling all winter to get the Legislature to repeal the Hobart Act [reported the State Chairman] our organization entered the Primary fight in Union County to defeat one of our principal antagonists, Senator Pierson. He was the oldest member of the State Senate in terms of service, and in his eighteen years of office had built up a machine which, we were told, was impregnable. There was considerable amusement at our expense at our impudence in opposing him. Senator Pierson was beaten by one hundred votes. Within a month the Legislature had passed a bill providing for

a referendum on the Hobart Act at the fall election. There was no doubt that it was our efforts which defeated Pierson, and the Referendum was the direct outcome.

The primary election in Florida marked the turning point for Repeal in that state. Because Florida always votes overwhelmingly Democratic, it was recognized that the chief task of the Repeal forces was to insure the nomination of Democratic candidates who stood uncompromisingly for Repeal. In the Fourth Congressional District they persuaded Mr. Mark Wilcox to oppose the incumbent member, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, on the platform of Repeal. For the first time in Florida since Prohibition, Repeal became the clear-cut issue of a congressional election. One Florida "cracker", explaining to another what "all these-here women-folks talkin' 'bout repeal" meant, clarified the matter thus: "Hit means thet yoh tak' hit out from behind the stump an' sets hit up on top!" The result of "settin' hit up on top" was that Mr. Wilcox was elected by over a two-to-one majority, and this in spite of the fact that Mrs. Owen is well-known and liked throughout the state. "From this time on the feeling changed rapidly, and women in general began to be conscious that Repeal was not only respectable but that it was actually a moral need, and that it was not only quite 'nice' but much more intelligent to take part in a social reform than to hide one's eyes from the need for it."

The question of repeal of state enforcement laws arose also in other states. The Oregon women were active in securing the required number of signatures to

place on the ballot at the coming election a measure for repeal of the Anderson Bone-dry law.

The Congressional Chairman of the Pennsylvania branch, Mrs. Charles M. Lea, took up residence in Washington during regular and special sessions of Congress, in order to make personal contacts with Pennsylvania members in the Houses of Congress. A similar service was performed by other members of the Congressional Committee during the sessions of the General Assembly in Harrisburg. When Governor Pinchot called a special session of the legislature to alleviate unemployment conditions in Pennsylvania, the WONPR adopted a resolution, which was mailed to every member of the assembly, embodying statistics to prove "that Prohibition was a vital factor in the prevailing economic distress, and that through Repeal, employment would be increased and a forward step taken in the restoration of prosperity."

On March 14, 1932 the House of Representatives in Washington was the scene of an important test vote on Prohibition. A resolution had been introduced jointly by Mr. Linthicum of Maryland, a Democrat, and Mr. Beck, of Pennsylvania, always a stalwart Republican friend of the WONPR. This resolution proposed that the House take a vote on submission by Congress to the states of an amendment to the Constitution permitting those states which so desired to set up control of the liquor traffic. The Judiciary Committee had refused to report the resolution to the House, and so a petition having the signatures of a hundred and forty-five members was placed upon the Speaker's desk, requesting

that the committee be discharged and the House proceed to the consideration of the resolution. It was upon this motion that the vote of March 14th was taken. The motion for consideration was lost by a vote of 227 to 187, but the result was regarded by the Wets as a signal victory, because the affirmative vote was the highest ever cast for a Wet motion since the beginning of national Prohibition, and was only forty-one short of a majority.

The rôle played by the WONPR in helping to bring about this significant vote was an energetic one, as might have been expected. The National Executive Committee, in session in Charleston, S. C., sent the following telegram to all members of Congress who had declared themselves for submission but who had not yet signed the petition to Congress asking to have the Resolution brought to the floor for discussion:

"The National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, comprising a membership of over four hundred and eleven thousand women, at its meeting in Charleston, S. C., unanimously urge you to support the Beck-Linthicum Resolution." State chairmen throughout the country got in touch with their county chairmen, and they in turn with the WONPR membership, which by now well exceeded that of the WCTU. Letters and telegrams poured in from Congressional districts urging their representatives to vote for consideration of the measure. Newspapers in city and hamlet over the United States carried letters from local WONPR leaders making this same request. Not a stone was left unturned.

The resulting poll demonstrated, more clearly per-

haps than any incident that had occurred up to this time, the extent to which public sentiment was swinging toward the declared objective of the WONPR—that the legislators should give the voters a chance to pronounce on the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Chapter VII

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

ENDORSEMENT OF REPEAL NATIONAL PLANK
April, 1932

I

THE Third National Conference met in Washington, April 12th. There were thirteen hundred delegates representing forty-one states. All were aware of how important was a WONPR conference at that exact juncture. Hard times had set in, the Republican administration was bewildered over what to do, and the country was facing one of its most crucial presidential elections.

Mrs. Sabin, as usual, went straight to the point in her opening speech:

The influence which we of this Organization will be able to wield in the coming elections, if our members are not led away from their cause to other issues, will be enormous. I feel justified in urging that we refrain from endorsement of Presidential candidates until after both major parties have held their National Conventions in June and until our National Executive Committee has met and analyzed the platforms of both Parties and the statements and records of the respective candidates. If either or both Parties urge a plank for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to be submitted to the people, I am sure that I am speaking for you all when I say we will not be satisfied with apathetic acquiescence to such plank on the part of the candidates. We demand militant support. In closing I would like to call to the attention of the Parties and their candidates

that as an Organization we are not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are Patriots.

There was certainly nothing ambiguous or undetermined about this—it was the clarion call for the WONPR to support those candidates who stood for unequivocal Repeal, and the conference rose to its feet in applause and agreement.

Mrs. Kellogg Fairbanks of Illinois in her following address added fuel to the fire:

The time has come when the people of the United States, in voting for the highest office in the country, should be able to be guided in their choice of candidates by the position they and the party they represent have taken on the matter of National Prohibition. It is not fair to the voters, nor in my opinion will it help the candidates themselves to avoid the issue, the only issue which is important today in the moral and economic life of our nation.

At the banquet session, Mrs. Florence Kahn, Republican Congresswoman from California, spoke from the inside of the legislative battle, with special reference to the Beck-Linthicum Resolution:

Let me urge you to concentrate your political efforts on your legislators; that is the first line of defense. For the first time in the history of Prohibition we have the Drys on the defensive, and we are advancing upon their outposts, capturing them one by one. That is the work for you to do. Don't dissipate your efforts in other directions. If we can win the legislators, whether in city or county, state or nation, we need not fear. They are the important offices; those are the ones we must have."

Mrs. Kahn gave valid answer to those who questioned if Prohibition was the only issue in those troublesome

times: "Public questions of great moment, on which the stability of our Government depends are pressing for solution. But around them all we find entwined the long tentacles of this octopus—Prohibition. It touches directly or indirectly every activity of public and private life." And her audience realized that there was no woman legislator in the country more fitted to make true appraisal of the situation.

Mrs. Moskowitz, of New York, urged her audience "to show the major political parties that back of the women who represent forty-one states in this room, is an army of women who can speak in the only language that politicians can understand: the language of the ballot-box."

Professor McBain of Columbia University asked: "Now what shall be our tactics toward this longed-for end of getting rid of the Eighteenth Amendment? My answer would be to take a leaf from the book of the Anti-Saloon League. Go into every congressional and senatorial campaign. Force the candidates into the open, absolutely. Work for any candidate of any party who promises to vote for Repeal. Vote against any candidate of any party who refuses to promise. Fight the Devil with his own weapons."

Legislator, social worker, and professor of constitutional law all brought the same message to the WONPR that night. The stage was well set for the morrow.

The first act went on next morning at nine o'clock. Buses carried the delegates from the Mayflower Hotel to the Capitol. The women massed on the Capitol steps while movie cameras clicked and Mrs. Sabin made a short movietone address. The large delegation then

broke up into state divisions and calls were made by their constituents on those Congressmen who had voted against the Beck-Linthicum Resolution.

Scouring the Capitol with Diogenes' lantern in broad daylight, the WONPR members found themselves being hospitably offered tickets of admission to all the other public buildings in Washington. Smiling a polite refusal, the women's reply was: "Mr. Congressman, do you consider the Eighteenth Amendment is being satisfactorily enforced in your district?" "From hearsay, I think there are places where it is poorly enforced and others where it is better enforced. It is for the future to decide. We do not know," said one Congressman, pacing the floor and mopping his brow. The women suggested they might have something to do with the decision of the future by now going straight home to the congressional district. "You women should think more about your country and less about rum!" escaped one representative, just after acknowledging himself to be no namby-pamby teetotaler!

The second act went on for the WONPR at the executive session of the Conference that afternoon. Mrs. Alger of Michigan, as Chairman of the Committee on Political Activities, reported a resolution that the WONPR remain non-partisan until both major political parties had held their National Conventions, announced their platforms and nominated their respective candidates, and until after the WONPR National Executive Committee had met in early July. Then, after full discussion, a majority vote should determine which platform and which presidential candidate should be endorsed and supported by the WONPR.

Questions were asked from the floor and considerable discussion of the resolution followed. A member asked: "If there are two wet candidates, will the Executive Committee tell us which of the two wet candidates we must vote for?" "No, indeed;" answered Mrs. Sabin, "on two equally wet candidates, and two equally wet parties, I think it is the sincere hope of every woman in this room that the stand which our Organization should take would be that the Democratic members support the Democratic candidate, and the Republican members, the Republican candidate."

The question then arose as to how a delegation could vote as a unit on this resolution of endorsement unless they had had opportunity to consult. Mrs. Sabin's answer was that every state had been asked to put a member representing that state on the Committee on Political Activities, as on all other sub-committees. All those committees had met on the afternoon of the day before to take action on the resolutions which had been presented them. The majority of states had met in caucus that evening to discuss this particular resolution on endorsement.

From among the delegation who had put this question arose their representative on the Political Activities Committee to say that she had voted in favor of the resolution: "I feel we are in the presence of a great moral issue such as only comes once in a lifetime. If we are going to save our country from the disastrous results that are now being felt from one end of it to the other, if we are going to keep ourselves from being submerged by the gangsters and the underworld, we

have got to put this great issue ahead of every other until it is accomplished."

Mrs. Sabin, in the chair, kept asking if there was any further discussion. Mrs. Bowler of Wisconsin remarked: "Men have said to me, both Republican and Democratic, that when the time comes to vote we women will go right back and vote our party ticket regardless. Let's show them that we won't. That we mean business."

A member arose to say that some might want to vote on other issues for a Republican or Democrat. This resolution would seem a way of signing away one's right of decision on the point. At this moment it was loudly suggested by members on the floor that the speaker take her seat.

Mrs. Sabin continued to ask if there was any further discussion. This brought forth vociferous calls for the question. Miss Hoyt arose to say that the Connecticut delegation wished to go on record as endorsing the resolution. Mrs. Rose of Ohio immediately followed with the same endorsement. Mrs. Sabin put the question to support or reject the resolution in question presented by the Political Activities Committee. The motion was put and the resolution overwhelmingly carried by the thirteen hundred delegates present with a few dissenting votes.¹

¹ Mrs. Walter Damrosch of New York was the only one who made audible objection to endorsing a presidential candidate because of his Repeal stand and regardless of his party. After the National Executive Committee meeting of July 7, 1932, Mrs. Damrosch wrote Mrs. Sabin that she felt the WONPR had been the most potent force in bringing about action against Prohibition by both political parties. Mrs. Caspar Whitney of New York said from the floor of the conference that she could not vote for this resolution endorsing the Wet presidential candidate regardless of party because she was already pledged to one candidate.

At the end of this Executive Session a telegram of greetings and congratulations to the WONPR from Organized Labor in California was read aloud, the total WONPR membership to date was announced as six hundred and twenty thousand, and the Third National Conference adjourned.

An opening skirmish took place the morning after the Endorsement Resolution went through. There was a hearing before a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate at which Mrs. Sabin and James W. Wadsworth, Jr., spoke against Prohibition. Many delegates of the WONPR had stayed over to attend. The room was jammed to its doors and there were crowds outside in the corridor. Besides the Wets and the Drys there were many outsiders. "We just came to see if this Mrs. Sabin could be as young as her pictures look," some were heard to say. What they saw was a woman smiling and apparently enjoying herself thoroughly. For Mrs. Sabin never used the tears which the Drys had found so effective before Senators and Congressmen. Therefore to the bitter end her late opponents never understood why she invariably made such a vivid public appearance.

The reason was, of course, that facts and not fancies were what Mrs. Sabin and her followers dealt in, often to the consternation of the committeemen before whom they spoke. This day, in particular, for the WONPR realized that by their side they at last carried the same weapon that the WCTU had used so successfully for

years—a great organization's endorsement of direct political action for an issue instead of a party. The fight was on and the WONPR chose to smile instead of cry.

II

In accordance with a resolution passed at the Third National Conference, the following telegram was sent on April 14, 1932 to:

The President of the United States
 Governor Albert Ritchie
 The Honorable Harry Byrd
 The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
 The Honorable Alfred E. Smith
 The Honorable Newton Baker
 The Honorable John Garner
 The Honorable Charles E. Curtis

The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform comprising a membership of more than a half million women assembled in Convention in Washington today unanimously instructed me to send you and all prospective } presidential Candidates the following
 } vice-presidential
 message stop Will you if nominated by the } Republican
 } Democratic
 Party for the High Office of Presidency of the United States support a plank in your party platform to submit the question of the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits to conventions held in the several states for ratification or rejection.

MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN
 Chairman.

The following replies were received by Mrs. Sabin:

April 15, 1932.

I received your telegram of April 13th, advising me of the Resolution adopted by the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, and asking whether, if nominated, I will support a plank in the Democratic platform submitting to State conventions the question of the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to each State of its former power over intoxicating beverages.

This is something for which I have been pleading for the past ten years, at least—and my answer, of course, is I WILL.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
(signed) Albert C. Ritchie
Governor.

May 4, 1932.

I have your letter of April 29th and I am glad to say "yes" to the question which you have asked. Submission to conventions, however, is not my first choice. I should prefer some form of direct submission to the voters themselves. I realize, of course, the difficulty of compelling this in every state.

Very sincerely yours,
(signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt.

April 14, 1932.

Without hesitation I declare myself in favor of the proposal stated in your telegram stop I refer you to my speech in Washington last night.

(signed) Alfred E. Smith.

April 15, 1932.

Your telegram addressed to me at the Willard Hotel was delivered promptly. As it in terms addresses me as a prospective Presidential candidate I do not feel that I

can answer the question asked. I cannot, however, allow your telegram to go unacknowledged and I therefore send this written explanation of my failure to reply.

So far as the question contained in the telegram would be an appropriate one addressed to me as a private citizen, I feel sure that the separate opinion filed by me as a member of the Wickersham Commission is a complete expression of my views as that separate opinion represented the most thoughtful judgment I could express and as I still entertain the same view there would seem to be nothing to be added.

Cordially yours,
(signed) Newton D. Baker.

No other replies were received, although a week later Mrs. Sabin wired the reminder:

"May we expect your reply to our telegram April thirteenth regarding your stand on plank for the submission of repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment stop Would like to include your reply with others to be made public Monday."

Chapter VIII

THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

June, 1932

I

WHAT would the Republican and Democratic parties say about the Eighteenth Amendment in their national platforms of 1932? Four years before, both parties had inserted Dry planks. But now the depression was a stark reminder that the issue could no longer be evaded. Public opinion was aroused and seething. Republican and Democratic voters alike clamored for a chance to turn thumbs down on the Eighteenth Amendment. Would they be able to do it under the emblems of their respective parties? The necessity of answering this question weighed upon both parties as they convened in Chicago to draft their platforms and to nominate their candidates.

The WONPR was conspicuously on hand. Headquarters were opened at the Blackstone Hotel and WONPR banners and badges were everywhere. With Mrs. Sabin was Mrs. Edward S. Moore, National Publicity Chairman, who gives this story of the WONPR experiences at the Conventions:

Before going to Chicago the five major organizations fighting for Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment had decided to attend the Conventions as a unit. So they formed the United Repeal Council, which represented the men's Association Against the Prohibition Amend-

ment, the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, the Hotel Men's Association, the Crusaders and the WONPR. Mr. Pierre du Pont was elected Chairman and Mrs. Sabin, Vice-Chairman.

There was a secret meeting of the United Repeal Council before the Republican Convention. A plank was then drawn up to present to the Republican Resolutions Committee, which was practically the one adopted later by the Democratic party. James W. Wadsworth, Jr. arranged with the Chairman of the Republican Resolutions Committee that a half hour would be allotted to the Wets to present their case and a half hour to the Drys. The head of each organization represented in the United Repeal Council was to be allowed five minutes in which to speak.

When we arrived at the Congress Hotel to appear before the Republican Resolutions Committee we found the doors closed where the Committee was in session. About three hundred persons were herded together in the hall outside and there we stood for one hour and a quarter. The heat was unbearable and the crowd so thick that if you had fainted dead away you would still be on your feet. After this interminable wait, the door opened a crack, and a crack is right. A man asked that Mr. Wadsworth come in. When Mr. Wadsworth entered and approached the Resolutions Committee, Chairman Garfield said that they had decided to not have a hearing on the Wet and Dry question after all. After a discussion the Committee said they would allow Mr. Wadsworth to speak for five minutes. He replied that he wasn't interested only for himself, but that he had five representatives from five organizations, comprising the United Repeal Council, outside in the hall waiting to speak. Finally Mr. Wadsworth persuaded the Committee to allow the speakers to have their promised hearing.

The door was then opened again a crack and Mrs. Boole, head of the WCTU, and one Dry represen-

tative were asked to come in. Then again a crack, for Mrs. Sabin and one Wet representative. So on until finally, after much quibbling, it was decided to let the whole mob in the hall enter the room.

The Wets presented their case first. Mr. du Pont as Chairman of the United Repeal Council introduced the speakers. Mrs. Nicoll, representing the WONPR, warned the Committee that a new generation would go to the polls in November who would not be interested in the great Republican past but rather in its future. A stop watch was used on the speakers. At the end of twenty-nine minutes, Mr. Boland, representing the Hotel Men's Association, was speaking when Chairman Garfield banged down his gavel and stopped him. He was informed that it was just twenty-nine minutes. Mr. Garfield replied that made no difference. Mr. Boland inquired if he might finish his sentence. "You may not!" was the reply.

The Drys then presented their case. The warning which Mrs. Peabody gave, in speaking for the Law Enforcement Group, was that a twelve-year-old law was like a twelve-year-old boy—it needed mothering! By the same stop watch the Drys were allowed forty-five minutes in which to speak for their side.

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The morning before the Democratic Resolutions Committee met to vote on the planks, Senator Walsh of Massachusetts sent for Mrs. Sabin. We went to his hotel to find him sitting in his shirt sleeves eating breakfast.

"Mrs. Sabin," he said, "I would like a woman to speak tonight before the Convention. She will naturally have to be a delegate. I do not want a professional speaker but someone ladylike and appealing. Can you provide such a person?"

"What part of the country do you wish her to come from?" Mrs. Sabin asked.

Senator Walsh looked very startled and stopped eat-

ing his breakfast: "Can you provide one from any part of the country?"

"I can," replied Mrs. Sabin.

"Well, I will be darned," said Senator Walsh, turning slowly back to his coffee, amazed at the national character of the organization with which he was dealing.

It finally was decided to have a woman from the Dry South, so Mrs. Sloane of Virginia was picked out. She made a superb speech that night urging the Democratic party not merely to submit the question of the Eighteenth Amendment to the people but to go the further determined step of pledging the party to work actively for the Repeal of the Amendment. No wonder that Orr made a picture of her speaking to that huge Convention crowd and called it "The Voice of American Womanhood."

At the Democratic Convention the same arrangement was made for the United Repeal Council to speak before the Resolutions Committee. We arrived to find the doors wide open and as we went in a man came up to Mrs. Sabin to say that seats were being reserved for us. The shock was almost more than we could bear. Each speaker had his or her full allotted time. Our plank, which started as the minority plank, became the majority so fast that we had to think quickly to keep up.

The night the Democratic platform was presented to the Convention we were naturally there in our box. Just before the Prohibition plank was read, Mrs. Sabin was beckoned to come into a prominent box right in front of us which she did. She wasn't there five minutes before the words came out: "We favor the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment."

There was an uproar. The delegates jumped to their feet, gathered their banners and started to parade around the Convention Hall. The organ played "Happy Days Are Here Again" and the noise was pandemonium. My impression from where I stood was of Mrs. Sabin standing in that box with hands stretching up to shake

her hand as the parade went by. They were all cheering her and calling out "We have you to thank for this." Everyone faced her and for twenty minutes she stole the Convention completely.

II

The Prohibition Plank of the Republican Party, adopted June 13, 1932, read:

The Republican Party has always stood and stands today for obedience to and enforcement of the law as the very foundation of orderly government and civilization. There can be no national security otherwise. The duty of the President of the United States and of the officers of the law is clear. The law must be enforced as they find it enacted by the people. To these courses of action we pledge our nominees.

The Republican Party is and always has been the party of the Constitution. Nullification by non-observance by individuals or state action threatens the stability of government.

While the Constitution makers sought a high degree of permanence, they foresaw the need of changes and provided for them. Article V limits the proposals of amendment to two methods: (1) Two-thirds of both houses of Congress may propose amendments; or (2) on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states a national convention shall be called by Congress to propose amendments. Thereafter ratification must be had in one of two ways: (1) By the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states; or (2) by conventions held in three-fourths of the several states. Congress is given power to determine the mode of ratification.

Referendum without constitutional sanction cannot furnish a decisive answer. Those who propose them innocently are guided by false hopes; those who propose them knowingly are deceiving the people.

A nation-wide controversy over the Eighteenth

Amendment now distracts attention from the constructive solution of many pressing national problems. The principle of national prohibition as embodied in the amendment was supported and opposed by members of both great political parties. It was submitted to the states by members of Congress of different political faith and ratified by state legislatures of different political majorities. It was not then and is now not a partisan political question.

Members of the Republican Party hold different opinions with respect to it, and no public official or member of the party should be pledged or forced to choose between his party affiliations and his honest convictions upon this question.

We do not favor a submission limited to the issue of retention or repeal. For the American nation never in its history has gone backward, and in this case the progress which has been thus far made must be preserved, while the evils must be eliminated.

We therefore believe that the people should have an opportunity to pass upon a proposed amendment the provisions of which, retaining in the Federal government power to preserve the gains already made in dealing with the evils inherent in the liquor traffic, shall allow states to deal with the problem as their citizens may determine, but subject always to the power of the Federal Government to protect those states where prohibition may exist and safeguard our citizens everywhere from the return of the saloon and attendant abuses.

Such an amendment should be promptly submitted to the states by Congress, to be acted upon by state conventions called for that sole purpose in accordance with the provisions of Article V of the Constitution, and adequately safeguarded so as to be truly representative.

This plank was adopted after a bitter, all-night battle in the Republican Resolutions Committee.

The emissaries of the Hoover Administration who defended the plank were Secretary Mills and Mr. James R. Garfield of Ohio, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. The opposing forces were led by Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of New York, and Walter E. Edge of New Jersey, Ambassador to France, who urged the adoption of the following as a substitute for the majority report:

We recommend that the Congress of the United States immediately prepare an amendment to the Federal Constitution repealing the Eighteenth Amendment thereto to be submitted to conventions of the people of the several states called for that sole purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Article V of the Constitution of the United States.

Should the Eighteenth Amendment be repealed we pledge our best effort toward enactment of such measures in the several states as will actually promote temperance, effectively abolish the saloon, whether open or concealed, and bring the liquor traffic itself under complete public supervision and control, with revenues properly drawn from legalized sources for the relief of the burden of taxpayers.

The Prohibition Plank of the Democratic Party, adopted June 30, 1932, stated:

We favor the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

To effect such repeal, we demand that the Congress immediately propose a constitutional amendment to truly representative conventions in the states called to act solely on that proposal.

We urge the enactment of such measures by the several states as will actually promote temperance, effectively prevent the return of the saloon, and bring the

liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the states.

We demand that the Federal government effectively exercise its power to enable the states to protect themselves against importation of intoxicating liquors in violation of their laws.

Pending repeal, we favor immediate modification of the Volstead act to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and other beverages of such alcoholic content as is permissible under the Constitution and to provide therefrom a proper and needed revenue.

III

"The Great Compromisers of Chicago"¹ had presented the Republican party with a Prohibition plank one part of which was reckoned to placate the Drys and another part to placate the Wets. As a result, nobody was satisfied.

The Drys immediately attempted to suggest that they thought President Hoover would be drier than the plank. Yet the fears of their National Board of Strategy were indicated by the objectives for which they then declared. One objective was to elect dependable Dry senators and representatives to Congress who could be counted on to block a measure for submitting the Eighteenth Amendment to the people of the country. If unable to prevent such submission they were to fight for its reference to Legislatures rather than to State Conventions elected on that issue. They knew how to deal with Legislatures; they could not be so sure of the voters whom both parties had declared could register their opinion on Prohibition through State Conventions.

¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, June 16, 1932.

The Drys had just received another blow. In June, 1932, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s public letter to Nicholas Murray Butler, Repeal's great Republican crusader, made a profound impression on those Americans who needed to have assurance made doubly sure. Mr. Rockefeller, Jr. had always been a pronounced Dry but now courageously acknowledged allegiance to the Repeal cause.

As will be seen in the next chapter, the WONPR's opinion of the Prohibition planks of the two parties was, that the Democratic plank was for unqualified Repeal, while the Republican plank was not.

Along with the "Great Compromisers" were small compromisers and even political sages who should have better understood the temper of the American people. To great and small the WONPR turned the same uncompromising face—the Eighteenth Amendment was to be repealed outright, once and for all. Now was the chance.

Nothing illustrated this better than the correspondence between Mrs. Sabin and Frank R. Kent of the *Baltimore Sun* which took place that summer:

August 24, 1932.

Dear Mr. Kent:

I have read your excellent article in *Scribner's Magazine*² with great interest, but I hope that you will bear with me while I give you a little information in regard to the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform.

In your article you state: "four years ago after she had exhorted her adoring followers at many chic lunch-

² "The Battle Lines are Drawn," *Scribner's Magazine*, September, 1932.

eons and teas to put Repeal above everything else, this flaming angel of the wet cause voted for the dry Hoover. . . ."

The facts are as follows: This Organization was not formed until May 28, 1929, and at no time prior to that time, with the exception of an article written for the *Outlook* two or three months before, had I ever publicly stated I was for Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. So it is not possible for "a great many wet Democratic women to have felt let down" when I supported Mr. Hoover in 1928. . . .

In regard to the action taken by our National Executive Committee,³ when by a vote of fifty-five to twenty-two we endorsed the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, we lived up to our declared and avowed policy—that we would support only those candidates for public office who favored the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

At no time did I state, or did any member of the Organization state that we could deliver a million women to any candidate. We are not such idiots. We did, however, urge our members, because they were committed to the cause of Repeal, to support the Presidential candidate who conformed with our Declaration of Principles.

In regard to "squeals of indignant protests were heard" as a result of our action, I want you to know the truth, which is, that we have had less than one hundred and fifty resignations since we took that action and that our membership has grown from 1,015,000 to 1,096,000 since that meeting—an increase of over eighty thousand.

In regard to your statement that "she did not understand," perhaps I am stupid, but as the Organization, which I have the honor to represent, has repeatedly and repeatedly stated that they favored not only the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, but the restoration to

³ See page 94 of "The Test of the WONPR."

each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits, stupid as you may think us, we are not *non compos mentis*, and we do know the difference between the Democratic plank and the Republican plank. We, further, do know the difference between Mr. Hoover's admission of the failure of National Prohibition on the eve of a Presidential Election and Mr. Roosevelt's statement, which is in accord with the statements which he made in 1928, 1930, and 1931. Furthermore, we know the Republican party does not commit any of its candidates for public office to a change in the National Prohibition Law. This has been demonstrated recently by the fact that Mr. Curtis has come out as definitely opposed to the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

We are really trying to do our best and I am sorry that you feel so ornery about us. Aren't you with us? As Seneca's pilot, apostrophizing Neptune, in the midst of a storm, I can say: "O Neptune, you may sink me if you will, you may save me if you will, but I have held my rudder true."

Sincerely yours,
 Pauline Morton Sabin.
 (Mrs. Charles H. Sabin,
 National Chairman).

In his letter of reply, dated August 29th, Mr. Kent said:

. . . You ask me: "Are you not with us?" Personally, Mrs. Sabin, I would prefer the Democratic method if we could get it, but practically, I think the Republican plan the best, the surest and quickest way of getting rid of National Prohibition—and I think the results would be the same. The trouble about the Democratic plan is that it would be so difficult to get thirty-six states to ratify unqualified repeal that the present Prohibition

Amendment would be riveted upon us for an indefinite number of years. At least I know of no clear-headed person not compelled to speak as a partisan at this time, who does not concede that such would be the danger. I know of no practical politician who does not agree that the ratification, or even the proposal by a two-thirds vote in Congress, of the Democratic plan, is unlikely. The Republican plan is swifter, more practical and infinitely more politically feasible. And, as I have said, the results would be the same. It is all right to be constitutional and profound and dogmatic about the method, but really, when you look the facts in the face the Republican plan plus the Hoover stand is a tremendous advance, far greater than anyone expected of either party in June. It seems to me to mean that National Prohibition is dead and certainly you had as much to do with killing it as anyone. I hate the thing so that I do not want any risk of keeping this dead thing with us by a plan that thirty-six states cannot be got to accept. I think that my party (I am a Democrat) went so far that if it tried to carry out its proposal we would be left where we are. But of course you know as well as I, it cannot and will not try to carry it out. The vote of the Senate Democrats after the convention clearly showed that. . . .

Replying on September 1st, Mrs. Sabin said:

. . . Far be it from me to try to be either "constitutional, profound or dogmatic," but I contend that the Constitution should be rid of all experimental police regulations. I challenge Hoover, or you, Mr. Kent, if you please, to write out in plain English a constitutional definition of the Saloon. Try it. I would be interested in seeing the result.

We trust the people of the States to prevent the return of the evils of the old system. Hoover does not. He wants Uncle Sam clothed with the power to make the

people be good. That means *bad* constitutional law and thus no lasting solution.

You know it, but you plead expediency; shame on you!

Neither Hoover or Roosevelt is as important as *sound* constitutional law.

Don't talk to me about what this or that man used to think. I only know that a lot of them have changed and have come a long distance towards our objective. I am glad. But before this fight is over most of them will come the whole way—unqualified Repeal—because it is the only proper way to get rid of this evil thing called Prohibition.

I do not agree with you about the impossibility of getting thirty-six states to ratify straight repeal. So called practical politicians and others close to the throne at Washington have been notoriously ignorant of the huge wave of anti-prohibition sentiment out in the country. The people are driving the politicians. Witness: Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Indiana, Ohio and "other hopelessly dry states" smashing ahead towards Repeal.

Did you or Mr. Hoover anticipate it? You did not.

I am optimistic enough to be convinced that you will be surprised again. Furthermore, I am sincerely glad that it will be a *pleasant* surprise for you . . .

In Mr. Kent's reply of September 8th he said:

. . . It would be a pleasant surprise to me if thirty-six states ratified unqualified repeal in the next decade—a pleasant surprise, indeed, if they get the chance to. And as for your "Shame on You" (and that is an admonition), it is hard for me to feel ashamed for being realistic, which is what you call "expedient." . . .

Chapter IX

THE TEST OF THE WONPR

July 7, 1932

IN JULY came a crucial test of the solidarity of the Organization. The National Executive Committee met at Roslyn, Long Island, to consider the endorsement of Repeal candidates and platforms in the approaching national election.

Mrs. Joy of Michigan presided, and Mrs. Sabin spoke as follows:

The question before the Executive Committee today is the mandate presented to this Committee by a Resolution that those of you present, who attended our National Conference in Washington, were among those in favor of. The members of our Organization who attended that Conference have left it to us to advise them as to whether in our judgment they should support, in the coming election, the Republican Party and Herbert Hoover, or the Democratic Party and Franklin Roosevelt.

There is no other question before us for consideration. It is not only the members of our Organization who at this time are awaiting the answer to this question, but citizens the length and breadth of this country are also waiting.

For three years we have worked shoulder to shoulder for one purpose—the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Is there any one in this room who really doubts which party and which candidate have definitely declared themselves in favor of Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment?

It has been said that the Democratic candidate is a very recent convert to the cause of Repeal because of political expediency. It cannot be said that up to date, the Republican candidate is a convert to Repeal for any reason.

Mrs. Sabin proceeded to quote the following excerpts from statements given by both candidates within the last few years:

August 11, 1928—Extract from President Hoover's address of acceptance: "I recently stated my position upon the Eighteenth Amendment which I again repeat: I do not favor the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment."

January 20, 1932—Extract from message from President Hoover in submitting the Wickersham Report to the Congress of the United States: "The Commission by a large majority does not favor the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment as a method of cure for the inherent abuses of the liquor traffic. I am in accord with this view. I see serious objections to and therefore must not be understood as recommending the Commission's proposed revision of the Eighteenth Amendment which is suggested by them for possible consideration at some future time if the continued effort at enforcement should not prove successful."

September 11, 1930—Extract from a letter of Governor Franklin Roosevelt to Senator Wagner, which was given to the press: "It is my belief that in the State of New York an overwhelming public opinion is opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment. The crux of the matter is that the Eighteenth Amendment has not furthered the cause of greater temperance in our population. The

force and effect of the Eighteenth Amendment can be eliminated only by a new Constitutional Amendment. The fundamental of a new Amendment must be the restoration of real control over intoxicants to the several states."

Statement of Governor Roosevelt in regard to the State Democratic Platform 1930: "I stand squarely on the Prohibition Repeal Plank in the Democratic State Platform."

The plank—"The Democratic Party in the State of New York demands the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and Modification of the Volstead Act."

February 5, 1932—Statement of Governor Roosevelt reaffirming his wet stand of 1930: "The sentiments expressed in my letter to Senator Wagner in 1930 are my views on the Prohibition question today."

July 3, 1932—Extract from Governor Roosevelt's speech of acceptance: "The Convention wants Repeal. I want Repeal. I am confident that the United States of America wants Repeal. I say to you now that from this date on, the Eighteenth Amendment is doomed."

Mrs. Sabin continued:

It has been suggested by several members of this Committee that we ignore that part of the mandate presented to us by the National Conference which deals with Presidential candidates, and merely issue a statement in regard to candidates running for the Congress. Members of this Committee—the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform has never been evasive; has never side-stepped an issue; has never lacked courage. We are just beginning our biggest fight for what we all know to be for the future welfare of our

country. Why retreat! This is not a question of personal preferences. It is a question of integrity.

To ignore any part of this Resolution would make our members lose faith in us; political parties to lose faith in us; the press to lose faith in us; future audiences to lose faith in us and, worst of all, would make us lose faith in ourselves.

I therefore present the following Resolution and move its adoption:

"The officers and members of the National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform are in complete accord with the platform of the Democratic party in regard to National Prohibition.

"We urge the members of our Organization to support in the coming election candidates for both houses of the Congress who are committed to Repeal. For in the last analysis it is that body who will inaugurate the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

"There are certain Republican members of both houses of the Congress who will come up for re-election who in the past have stated that they favor the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Therefore, in order that our Organization may show their appreciation of this support, we urge our members in such cases to vote according to their respective parties, provided both party candidates favor Repeal.

"While the President of the United States has no power to veto or change a proposed Constitutional amendment, he has through the prestige of his high office, the power to wield directly or indirectly great influence over legislation.

"We therefore urge the members of this Organization, because they are committed to the cause of Repeal, whether they be Republicans or whether they be Democrats, to give their support to the nominee of that party which favors the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Mrs. Sabin's resolution was seconded. A general and occasionally heated discussion followed. The resolution was passed fifty-five to twenty-two.

Afterwards, when prepared statements about the meeting were handed to the press, the representative of the Associated Press read his, then turned to Mrs. Sabin and said: "I congratulate the Organization. The press was betting you wouldn't come through clean."

The opposite point of view was expressed within a few days by a group of sixty-four women, mostly from Long Island, who protested thus:

As members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, we wish to express publicly our disagreement with the action taken by the Executive Committee July 7th in turning a non-partisan organization, founded for the purpose of bringing about a definite reform, into a partisan group, urged to vote for a particular party and an individual candidate.

Such a course destroys the usefulness of the Organization before the attainment of the object for which it is founded. The Organization came into existence with a view to bringing about the elimination of Prohibition from the Federal Constitution. At their recent Conventions both parties declared in favor of submitting to the people such an amendment. The real difference between them is the course to be followed after Repeal. They differ as to methods of control and regulation of the liquor traffic.

With millions of unemployed, widespread distress, and with the world confronted with a crisis that threatens the very foundation of civilization, to make the position of a candidate toward control of the liquor traffic the sole test of his fitness for the office of President is the very negation of our responsibilities as citizens.

Therefore we advocate that each individual should vote for the man who, in his or her judgment, is best qualified to lead the nation.

Mrs. Sabin's statement in reply to these protesters (none of whom resigned from the WONPR) was as follows:

I have read the petition which I am told was drafted with the help of the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, Ogden Mills, advising me that sixty-four Long Island women will not vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt. That is their prerogative. But when these ladies state that both parties declare in favor of submitting to the people an amendment eliminating National Prohibition they are reading into the Republican plank an interpretation not justified by its wording.

For not only does the Republican plank fail to advocate the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment but it specifically states, "We do not favor a submission limited to the issue of retention or repeal." I am very sorry that these ladies felt it necessary to publicly repudiate and admonish not only the National Executive Committee for keeping its word but also the thousands of women who have untiringly and loyally given their time and strength for the last three years to endeavor to bring about a day of less temptation for the young, a day of greater security for the workers, a day when criminals will lose control, a day of greater happiness for us all.

I can find no comfort in this petition. But perhaps the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, and Bishop Cannon will.

Mrs. Sabin's reference to the Secretary of the Treasury was due to the fact that she knew certain members

of the Long Island group had consulted with Mr. Mills in regard to the wording of the proposed protest. This point in the controversy was commented on in the press:

Taking their cue from Mr. Mills these women have been making statements locally, to the effect that there is no reason for them to switch from the Republican candidates. But if what Mr. Mills has told these women, and what they are parrot-like repeating in their local statements is true, why did Mr. Mills make so strenuous a fight against the adoption of a plank that would honestly put the party on record, in understandable language, for Repeal?

The answer, of course, is that the Hoover lieutenants who controlled the Republican convention wanted a plank that would enable Mr. Mills to do just what he has done, make an appeal to the wets of his party, asserting that the Republican plank is a wet and a repeal plank, while other spokesmen for Mr. Hoover can be addressing themselves to the dry women (and men too), of the nation, telling them that the Republican plank is a dry plank.

It may be good politics, but it is not straight shooting, not honest. And this year the people are going to turn thumbs down on deception, hypocrisy, evasion and political baloney.¹

Even that staunch Republican paper, the *New York Herald Tribune*, had minced no words about the Administration's straddle plank on Prohibition of which Mr. Mills had been one of the principal defenders at the Chicago Convention:

In some paradise for politicians there may yet be devised a compromise more inclusive and vague than the

¹ *Kingston (New York) Leader*, July 13, 1932.

wet-moist-dry plank over which the leaders of the Chicago Convention have been wrangling . . . If the Great Compromisers of Chicago have left anything out in the haste of their arduous performance we cannot recall what it is. They can retire for a long rest, assured of the hearty disapproval of everyone with an honest conviction on the subject.²

Mrs. Douglas Robinson sent the following letter to the *New York Herald Tribune* on July 17th:

I wish to express my sympathy with the attitude of Mrs. August Belmont and that of the other members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform [the sixty-four protesters, mostly from Long Island] who have openly dissented from the action of the National Executive Committee which urged all members of the Organization to vote for the Democratic candidate for President.

I feel that I cannot be accused of "animosity," as my affection and admiration for my cousin, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, is well known, but I am most regretful that the leaders of the Organization for Prohibition Reform, for whom each member has respect, should have put themselves on record as repealists first and Americans second.

It seems to me that the grave mistake was in passing the resolution proposed at the Washington convention, when the delegates had not had the time to consider carefully what such action would mean.

I have been a repealist from the very first and belonged to anti-prohibition associations long before Mrs. Sabin inaugurated her fine organization; I also ran as a repeal delegate to the New York State convention in the Herkimer County primaries, when the repeal cause had not as many advocates as now, and therefore my interest in that cause cannot be questioned. It is because of that interest that I deplore the position taken by the

² June 16, 1932.

convention in Washington and the National Executive Committee on Long Island. I feel that the majority of the latter has laid itself open to the criticism, long preempted by the drys, of being fanatical, and I also feel that those members have repudiated the spirit of their own slogan—"Patriotism Before Party"—for they seem to me to have added to it another clause, namely: "Repeal Before Patriotism." The admirable editorial printed in the *Herald Tribune* a few days ago entitled "Americans First" should be carefully read by every one interested in this most unfortunate controversy.

To which Mrs. Sabin replied as follows:

While I regret to continue what Mrs. Douglas Robinson refers to as "this most unfortunate controversy," I would not be loyal to the members of the Organization which I have the honor to represent if I did not take exception to the letter published in this morning's *Herald Tribune* over her signature, in which she states that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform has put itself on record as "repealists first and Americans second."

It was difficult when I read this letter, knowing Mrs. Robinson, to believe that she had written it. It was so unfair to the members of our National Executive Committee, who for three years have carried on the fight for Repeal and who today are largely responsible for the great wave of Repeal sentiment which has swept the country. It is also unfair to the thousands upon thousands of other women who have untiringly given their time and strength to a cause in which I thought Mrs. Robinson believed.

If she felt the passing of our resolution in Washington was a grave mistake when that resolution stated that our National Executive Committee should, early in July, after a full discussion, recommend to our members which party and which Presidential candidate were

in accord with the Declaration of Principles of this Organization, may I ask why she did not protest at that time, as the resolution was given extensive publicity?

May I further ask why she did not protest when in May the New York Advisory Council of which she is a member, supported the Washington resolution? If she was not present at this meeting, that action was also reported through the press.

She states that we have repudiated the support of our own slogan, "Patriotism Before Party," and that we are fanatical. May I ask Mrs. Robinson whether blind party regularity which leaves no room for an honest difference of opinion is not more fanatical than the consistent support of a definite principle which affects the very fundamental structure of our government and the welfare of our people?

Furthermore, when Mrs. Robinson states that we are untrue to our slogan, "Patriotism Before Party," can she deny that the National Executive Committee through their action ten days ago upheld that slogan to the letter of the law? It is because they did that very thing that a few of those who until very recently have cheered and applauded that slogan are now openly criticising us for keeping faith.

She states that she has "great affection and respect" for her cousin, Governor Roosevelt. By what possible process of reasoning, then, does she reach the conclusion that our endorsement of his candidacy places us on record as "repealists first and Americans second"? By what mental gymnastics does she conclude that the two-party system of government, accepted by us since the foundation of the nation, is un-American? And does she deny that working under the system almost every important social reform in our history has been brought about by the action of non-partisan or bi-partisan groups giving their support to the party which made that reform a party measure?

She declares her sympathy with the attitude of Mrs.

Belmont, who recently stated that she did not believe at this time of crisis in business and employment, that the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment should be made the only issue or even the issue of paramount importance in the coming election.

Even were we to concede that there is before the people no other issue than economic rehabilitation, it cannot be denied that there is no single governmental act which would contribute so greatly and so promptly to that end as the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. It would give men employment, reduce taxes and go a long way toward balancing the national budget.

However, it is not because of the economic advantages that the members of this Organization urge the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, born in fanaticism, sown in hypocrisy, and flowering in every form of social and political evil.

The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform is not making Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment the paramount issue of the day—Repeal is the paramount issue.

Early in September Mrs. Sabin received the following letter from Pittsburgh:

In view of the action taken by you as National Chairman of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform and the representatives of the organization who were able to attend the meeting called by you in New York on July 7th, 1932, endorsing Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt for President and Speaker John N. Garner for Vice-president, we the undersigned, a group of Pennsylvania members of the above organization, rather than resign from the organization, with whose aims we are in complete accord and sympathy, wish to voice our protest and disapproval of your action as premature, ill-advised, and not in the interest of real Prohibition reform.

It was premature and ill-advised because the members of the organization were urged to support the Democratic candidates before President Hoover had made clear his stand on Prohibition in his speech of acceptance; it was not in the interest of real prohibition reform because, as the country stands, we could not hope to gain the support of the moderate dry element without a Federal guarantee against the return of the saloon such as proposed by President Hoover. Our slogan "Repeal" has for us a practical rather than a literal meaning, and we are not willing to sacrifice the certainty of immediate Prohibition reform to the impossibility of unconditional repeal.

We therefore announce our support of President Hoover, as the man best fitted to accomplish the end for which we have been striving.

We are giving this letter to the papers on Friday.

Mrs. Sabin's reply follows:

Dear Ladies:

I was advised by a representative of the press of the statement which you have given out.

I am sorry that you did not do me the courtesy of allowing me to receive the statement before you took this action.

I note that you state that you are in complete accord and sympathy with the aims and purposes of our Organization, yet, in the next paragraph you state that the word "Repeal" has for you a practical rather than a literal meaning. These two statements seem to be in complete contradiction.

I may be wrong, but you seem to infer that there was a small attendance at the meeting of the National Executive Committee, which urged the members of this Organization to support Governor Roosevelt. May I call to your attention that the call for that meeting was sent out three weeks in advance and that every member of

the Executive Committee was either present or telegraphed instructions. Furthermore, the action in endorsing Governor Roosevelt was passed by a vote of fifty-five to nineteen. When the date of the meeting was chosen, we had not expected that either Presidential candidate would have made his speech of acceptance. It was called for the first week of July, because the Washington Resolution, which was passed by a vote of thirteen hundred to five, instructed the Executive Committee to meet at that time.

You tell me that our stand was not in the interest of real Prohibition reform. May I remind you that each and every member of this Organization has personally signed a card pledging herself to work not only for Repeal, but for the restoration to each state of its former power to regulate liquor control within its own borders. Therefore, the word "Repeal" is not a slogan. It is the Declaration of Principle upon which this Organization was founded, for which every member has pledged herself to work.

You seem to feel that Mr. Hoover has accepted the stand of this Organization. He has not. He proposes to write into the Constitution a guarantee against the return of the old saloon. He is willing, in order to obtain the support of certain dry organizations, to endeavor to write a definition of a saloon in the Constitution of the United States. We are not. We contend that the Constitution should be rid of all experimental police regulations. We trust the people of the United States to prevent the return of pre-Prohibition evils. Mr. Hoover and the Republican party do not. They believe that the Federal Government should be clothed with the power to make the people behave. This means bad Constitutional law and, thus, no lasting solution. Neither Mr. Hoover or Mr. Roosevelt is as important as sound Constitutional Law.

Therefore, I wish to advise you that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform will con-

tinue to work for unqualified Repeal, because it is the only proper way to get rid of this evil thing called Prohibition. Furthermore, it is our conviction that our objective will be reached within a very few years. . . .

In closing, I want you to know that I am very sorry you consider the action of your National Executive Committee premature and ill-advised and to call your attention to the fact that it is largely due to the untiring loyalty and support which this group has given to a cause, in which I hope you believe, that the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment will soon be accomplished. . . .

On December 14, 1932, the Executive Committee of the Pittsburgh Branch of the WONPR passed this resolution: "That as Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, National Chairman, has done more than anyone else for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, be it resolved that we write a letter to Mrs. Sabin expressing to her our deep gratitude for all she has accomplished."

As a result of passing the resolution to endorse the stand of the Democratic candidate and platform on Repeal the WONPR received 150 resignations and gained 137,000 new members. The protesters were unknowingly responsible for the gain, for their attacks upon the National Executive Committee merely stimulated the active members of the Organization everywhere in the United States to thus offset any possible resignations.

Within the WONPR it was recognized that this in-

cident emphasized a particular quality of its National Chairman. It was that Mrs. Sabin has a capacity, unusual for a woman, of remaining impersonal about what others take personally. She looked upon her own position as head of the WONPR in a spirit of extraordinary detachment. She regarded a difference of political opinion as a natural occurrence to be reckoned with dispassionately and then ignored.

It is of interest to note the stand taken at this time on endorsement of candidates and party platforms by the other anti-Prohibition organizations in the country. The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Crusaders, the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, and the Hotel Men's Association endorsed all Wet candidates for Congress and local offices but made no commitment on the presidential candidacy or on party platforms.

Chapter X

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1932

ON THE Prohibition issue the battle lines were drawn up. On the side wishing to Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment was the United Repeal Council composed of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, the Hotel Men's Association, the Crusaders and the WONPR. Among other groups on this side were the American Federation of Labor, the American Bar Association, the American Legion and the Women's Committee for Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, a valuable unit under Mrs. Morton and Miss Gross which had been in the fight from the beginning. Not enough emphasis can be laid upon the help given to the Repeal cause by the nation's hope that bad times would turn to good times through the economic betterment which the end of Prohibition would bring about. The promise of re-employment and of the conversion of the profits of the bootleggers into taxes paid to the government was a matter of deep concern in those grey days to millions of voters who cared little whether the Eighteenth Amendment did or did not belong in the Constitution.

Among the groups on the side wishing to retain the Eighteenth Amendment were the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals, the Anti-Saloon League and the WCTU.

Campaign rumors were plentiful. The particular one about the WONPR which floated everywhere was that

Mrs. Sabin would try to deliver a million votes to the Democrats. As a matter of fact, the WONPR went its undisturbed way, being a non-partisan organization.

With William G. McAdoo (Dry Democrat) running against Tallant Tubbs (Wet Republican) for the Senate from California, the WONPR endorsed Mr. Tubbs. In Ohio, the WONPR supported for Congress, Chester Bolton (Wet Republican) whose opponent was a woman, a Dry, a judge, and a popular Democratic figure. With Robert L. Bacon (Wet Republican) running against Cornelius V. Whitney (Wet Democrat) in the First Congressional District in New York, the WONPR made the following endorsement:

Over a period of at least four years, [said Mrs. Sabin in a letter published October fifteenth] Mr. Bacon has supported straight Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. I further believe he will continue to do so. I feel that those men who, in the past, have given us their unqualified support now deserve to have ours. It took some courage a few years ago to be for Repeal. Today it is very popular and, therefore, I cannot help but feel that our first obligation should be to those pioneers who were on our side.

Mrs. Sabin and Mrs. Nicoll spoke several times for Mr. Roosevelt on the Prohibition issue, explaining the difference between the Democratic and Republican platforms. At "The Republican League for Roosevelt" mass meeting held at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, Mrs. Nicoll spoke on why, though a Republican, she was supporting the Democratic candidate for President. "When a party fails to stand for those prin-

ciples in which the individual believes, it becomes an empty husk, a mere shell," she said.

The whispering campaign against Mr. Roosevelt was very evident. Shortly before Election Day, Mrs. Sabin received an anonymous telephone call at her house saying that Mr. Roosevelt had collapsed at the Biltmore. Several other New York City members of the WONPR received this same message on the same day. But such tactics were of no avail against leaders of a united Organization who knew that a million women throughout the nation were working their hardest for a great cause.

For the state branches of the WONPR there were two milestones to be passed before reaching the peak of the campaign. The first was Repeal Week—a week in May to be given over to an intensive publicity campaign and a drive for members and funds.

One of the most successful campaigns was that carried out by the Missouri branch. Ten enrollment centers were opened in the state. "Repeal" was the theme of radio talks, press articles, and advertisements posted on one hundred and ten billboards. An enrollment center opened in a strategic location in downtown St. Louis drew crowds of interested people by means of a "loudspeaker" broadcast of speeches. When the Anti-Saloon League complained to the police department that the ballyhoo was a public nuisance and got a warning issued, the WONPR women quickly had a series of

huge signs painted, which, shown in succession, attracted even more attention.

The Pennsylvania Organization conducted a tour of buses with amplifying equipment to carry speakers through the southeastern counties of the state. The climax of Repeal Week was a revue entitled "The Merry-Go-Round," which proved to be one of the outstanding shows of the year in Philadelphia.

The Organization in Jacksonville, Florida, celebrated Repeal Week with "the opening of a Headquarters shop, which remained open during and after election, a membership drive, display of numerous posters, selling of automobile plates and distribution of literature from sidewalk booths downtown and in the marketing sections, and, especially, a Repeal Parade and a Repeal Luncheon, open to the public, at which all county candidates for State Legislative offices were invited to speak. . . . All the legislative candidates with a single exception declared in favor of Repeal—and the single exception failed of election."

In North Carolina, Repeal Week was marked by a declaration in favor of Repeal by a popular and influential evangelist, who subsequently rendered great assistance in the educational work of the anti-Prohibition forces. In Minnesota, the St. Paul branch increased its membership by 12,000; in Pennsylvania, the Pittsburgh branch, by 11,294 in four days. A vigorous new Organization was formed in Montana, which rapidly enlisted 1,500 members—in some counties over sixty per cent of the total female population, which was a striking proportion and represented assiduous work in so sparsely settled a state.

Repeal Week saw its greatest increase of membership in Illinois where Mrs. Stanley Field did an amazing piece of work. The month of May also saw there the passage of a bill repealing the Illinois State Search and Seizure Act, for which the WONPR had worked strenuously. It was vetoed, however, by Governor Emerson, and it was not until after the November elections had demonstrated overwhelmingly the Repeal sentiment of the state that the act was finally repealed.

During April and May the Kentucky branch sent out a field worker, whose task it was to get in touch with congressional candidates and try to get from them an expression as to their Repeal position. Miss Humphreys of the Kentucky WONPR tells an experience of this field worker:

In one town she met a woman visitor from another town some fifty miles distant and engaging in conversation, our field worker explained her work. The visitor, a Dry, said, "you appear to be too nice a woman to be with that WONPR group. By the way, are there any church members in that organization? The field worker replied, "Yes, all denominations are represented. I, myself, am an Episcopalian." "Oh," said the visitor, "I do not consider that Episcopalians and Catholics are Christians." The field worker admitted that she was going to the visitor's own town at a certain time. The ardent Dry, on reaching home told the story of this meeting to her fellow workers, the preacher, the WCTU leader and others, all self-appointed censors of the community morals. They marched in battle formation to the hotel and were telling the clerk that it was his moral duty to refuse accommodations to this woman whose associates were seeking to destroy the law of the land. They said, "She would be a menace to the moral

standards of our town." The harassed clerk, knowing that he could not do this, was explaining his position when in walked the field worker. She got her room and stayed her allotted time. Some months later, after the party National Platforms had been announced at Chicago, she again visited this town, and stopped at the same hotel. The clerk met her with a broad smile and said, "I do not have to apologize for you now."

A further vivid illustration of the propaganda against which the Kentucky WONPR had to work is the following excerpt from *The American Independent* of October, 1933, a militant Dry paper and the accredited organ of certain evangelical churches in the state:

You can take Kentucky and rake it with a fine-tooth comb, and you can not find two dozen women in the State who openly advocate the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, who is not either a drunkard, or whose home life is not immoral, or who does not expect to get in the liquor business when and if it is again legalized. To line up with such a drunken and immoral bunch of women as that should be beneath the dignity of hundreds of thousands of good and pure women over this State. We are telling you these truths so you, my dear woman, will not be caught, when these women speakers come into your town, on the platform with them, or even in their society. These wet women, though rich most of them are, are no more than the scum of the earth, parading around in skirts, and possibly late at night flirting with other women's husbands at drunken and fashionable resorts. Yes, when a woman puts herself in the place these wet women place themselves, the editor of this paper treats them exactly as they ought to be treated—as women with whom decent women should not associate themselves.

The second milestone before the campaign was the

primary elections scheduled for the summer or early autumn in several states. As in earlier primaries the WONPR played an active part in securing the nomination of Repeal candidates. The Political Activities Committee of the Missouri branch began its efforts in the spring by maintaining headquarters at the party Conventions, interviewing candidates, and distributing literature. Before the primaries in August, 300,000 sample ballots were issued, indicating the candidates endorsed by the Organization. Six of the twelve Democratic candidates for Congress whom they endorsed were nominated, and seven of the nine Republicans. The California Organization sent out questionnaires to all candidates, and sent post cards to its membership endorsing Repeal candidates for the August primaries.

In Michigan, where the primaries occurred in September, the situation was complicated by the initiation of a new system which necessitated re-registration. The campaign of educating voters for this purpose, questioning candidates and endorsing those who declared for Repeal resulted in an enormous majority of anti-Prohibition votes: over seventy-five per cent of the voters cast ballots for Repeal candidates.

It was the nation-wide Election of November, however, which represented to the Organizations in all the states their peak of effort. They were determined that this should be the Waterloo of Prohibition. As the great day approached they brought into play all the political force and strategy that they had been developing during the minor battles of the preceding years.

Again let it be remembered that this is solely the story of the WONPR's struggle to eradicate the Eight-

eenth Amendment from the Constitution. From no other angle is that momentous national campaign of 1932 touched upon here.

In some of the states the women had done their work so well that little remained to be done. New Jersey reported: "Our visit to our legislators in 1932 was to congratulate them only. All were Wet by that time; and we pinned a gardenia on each one as a compliment from the WONPR." Maryland and Wisconsin found a similar unanimity of sentiment. In Michigan, where the election of Repeal candidates seemed fairly sure, efforts were centered upon getting out the vote for an amendment to repeal the state Prohibition laws. (This amendment had been placed on the ballot as a result of the WONPR's work in securing 202,000 signatures for the required petition, and this was done within the short space of three months.) Over a million dodgers were distributed throughout the state. A radio forum was held on five successive Saturday evenings preceding the election. Other states in which the repeal of state enforcement acts or Prohibition laws was an issue in the November Election were New Jersey, Colorado, California, North Dakota, and Oregon. Special referenda on Prohibition in Connecticut and Wyoming called forth the strenuous efforts of the WONPR.

The campaign conducted by the Delaware branch is worthy of detailed description, not only because of its extraordinary thoroughness, but because it illustrates most of the methods which were being used throughout the country by the other state branches. The campaign of education began as early as September, 1931, and involved the sending out of definite political information

to the women of every election district in the state, at every stage of the campaign from the selection and election of delegates to the first State Conventions in the spring, to getting out the vote on Election Day. The reasons assigned by the Executive Secretary, Miss Eckman, for the remarkable success of this work, are worth quoting because they might be applied to the work of the WONPR in the nation as a whole:

It was early apparent that the WONPR would have very much more influence in the 1932 campaign than it had in that of 1930, and with *both* parties. The influence with the political leaders came not so much from the size of our membership or from what was known of the changing sentiment for Repeal, but from the knowledge of our actual activity among the voters in every election district. A given district might have a very limited number of signed members in our Organization, and yet the district WONPR leader and the political leaders as well, knew that enough of the district was likely to vote with us to turn the district Wet.

The really important objective in the Election itself, in Delaware, was to elect a Wet majority to the state legislature. Only one Congressman was to be elected, and no Senator. Of the two candidates for Congress, the Republican nominee was openly for Repeal. The Democratic candidate was inclined to straddle the issue, but the WONPR finally secured a public pledge from him to vote for Repeal. After that, no attempt was made to influence the voters in favor of either candidate. The pre-election activities included a "full program of publicity, information and instructions, ballot diagrams, leaflets, flyers, interviews, advertisements, automobile

service, etc. Both registration and election work was door-to-door canvassing in the districts."

The issuing of sample ballots naming candidates endorsed on the basis of their Repeal stand was a favorite method in many states. Indiana, after sending questionnaires to all candidates, issued 500,000 copies of a sample ballot. In Southern California, 100,000 handbills were issued and sample ballots sent to all WONPR members. Missouri and Kentucky distributed large numbers of sample ballots and dodgers carrying the names of endorsed candidates. In Illinois, the long list of candidates made it impracticable to issue a sample ballot for the whole state, and so, after a canvass of 282 candidates for Congress and the state legislature, a number of short articles were prepared for 750 daily papers in the state, giving the Prohibition stand of candidates in the specific districts covered by those papers.

Radio programs were sponsored by many of the state organizations before the Election. In Oregon a speech by some prominent citizen was broadcast every night for a week before the Election, and several day-time broadcasts in the form of interviews were added. California, Texas, Maine and Connecticut were among other states reporting the use of radio in the campaign.

The "Motorcade" which New York had found so successful in 1931 was repeated in October, 1932, on a larger scale, and with extraordinary effectiveness. After two months of intensive preparations by Mrs. Eichel, who again was to direct the "Motorcade," four cars started out from New York with Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Langley, Major Maurice Campbell and Mrs. Eichel as speakers. One of the cars was equipped with a loud-

speaker. In each congressional district the party was joined by large numbers of WONPR cars, and in each case the candidates supported by the WONPR were added to the list of speakers, as well as local leaders of the Organization. The "Motorcade" was out fifteen days, travelled through forty counties, and covered in all approximately eighteen hundred miles and held fifty-five meetings, most of them out of doors.

Campaign headquarters were maintained in most of the states by the WONPR. In many places these were established in cooperation with the Association against the Prohibition Amendment or other Repeal groups. In Alabama the WONPR held the fort alone, and did it with brilliant success. For three months before the November Election, weekly meetings were held, with speeches from labor representatives, doctors, lawyers, legionnaires, and such politicians as were willing to come out openly for Repeal. In New Hampshire the State Chairman, Mrs. Skinner, campaigned throughout the state with such determination that the WONPR was generally given credit for the subsequent victory at the polls. Connecticut gave demonstrations on voting-machines, posted sample ballots, held meetings and broadcasts, distributed publicity and flyers and in two counties secured permission to put literature in every R.F.D. box. In Philadelphia the WONPR "shop" headquarters installed a voting-machine for demonstration, and against the opposition of the local political powers, succeeded in securing the adoption of that method of voting. A special center was maintained for educational work among colored women.

Election Day was a day of gruelling hard work for

thousands of WONPR officers and members. Motor contingents conveyed hordes of voters to the polls. Volunteer workers assisted at the polls, distributed Repeal buttons on the streets, climbed millions of steps and rang countless doorbells, rounding up the vote. Publicity campaigns wound up in a burst of oratory. Many a woman will remember the day of November 8, 1932, as the busiest day of her life.

But aching heads, tired feet, hoarse voices were all forgotten as the returns of the Election began to come in. Hope gave way to excited surprise, and then to triumphant certainty. The cause of Repeal was winning beyond anyone's wildest dreams. From the eastern states came the first reports. Massachusetts had elected two Wet senators, and fourteen Wet representatives out of a total of fifteen. Delaware had returned a strong Wet majority to the state legislature, and the senatorial candidate whom the WONPR had induced to take a Repeal stand was elected. The New Jersey referendum on the repeal of the state Prohibition law went Wet by a seven to one vote. North Carolina had elected a Wet Senator, Robert R. Reynolds. Pennsylvania had reversed its Wet-Dry proportions in the House, with twenty-five Wet Congressmen and nine Dry. Virginia had defeated a Dry for re-election, and replaced a retiring Dry by a declared Repeal candidate. Of New York's eleven Dry Congressmen, now only six were left, and the state legislature had a working Wet majority in both Houses.

As the night wore on, the Wet tide swept westward. Ohio reported several new Wet representatives. Illinois, which had had eighteen Wets and nine Drys, reported

the election of twenty-five Wets and two Drys. In Michigan the state Prohibition law was repealed by a spectacular vote of 1,202,828 as against 474,108. Minnesota had elected six Repeal candidates as against three Dry representatives. Even in Nebraska, where the fight had been long and hard, the driest congressional district in the state had elected a Wet Congressman to replace a Dry. In Colorado, three Dry Congressmen were superseded by Wets, and the Prohibition laws were voted out of the state constitution by a majority of 56,000. Wyoming's referendum on Prohibition resulted in a two-to-one vote for Repeal, and the state Prohibition laws were repealed. Returns from the Coast States capped the climax: Oregon repealed its enforcement act by a large majority, and returned a one-hundred per cent Repeal representation to the House. California repealed its Wright Act by a two-to-one vote, elected two Senators committed to Repeal, and seventeen Wet Congressmen out of twenty districts.

Not until the total results of the Election were announced was it understood by what a tremendous vote the American people had rejected the Eighteenth Amendment. Not only was the party supporting outright Repeal swept into office by a huge plurality, but every referendum on the question of Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment or Repeal of state Prohibition laws and enforcement acts was won by an overwhelming popular vote. As a result of the Election, six bone-Dry Senators were defeated by their Wet opponents, and there were forty-nine Wet victories in the contest for members of the House, with thirty-one Dry incumbents defeated.

This was an undeniable verdict of the American people against the Eighteenth Amendment. The legislators' eyes were finally opened. Dazed and blinking, both Houses of the hitherto Dry Seventy-second Congress proceeded in February, 1933, to pass by more than the necessary two-thirds vote the Blaine Resolution calling for a Twenty-first Amendment to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment with ratification by State Conventions.¹

Where were the Drys of yesteryear?

II

What, then, remained for the WONPR to do after the smoke of battle had cleared and the victory was conceded?

First of all, there was the task of Ratification. The Twenty-first Amendment had been passed by the Congress, but before it could become a part of the Constitution it must be ratified in thirty-six states, and toward this end the efforts of the WONPR were next directed.²

Moreover, there was the question of liquor laws in the individual states. Many of the state Prohibition laws had been repealed in the November election, but there remained a host of laws dealing with liquor regulation upon the statute books of the states, and in the fall of 1932 the State Chairmen of the WONPR, like the tidy housekeepers they were, were asking their attorney generals what state Prohibition laws would remain after the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. With this information in hand, they proceeded to undertake a study

¹ The following month was passed the Cullen 3.2 per cent beer bill modifying the Volstead Act.

² See Chapter xiv.

of liquor-control systems and to begin working out consistent and practical plans to be presented later to their state legislatures.³

In her report of December (1932), Mrs. Sabin said:

With the knowledge that we are in a very strategic position and yet conscious of the fact that much work remains to be done with the Congress, I am happy to report that a National Legislative Committee has been formed by Mrs. William B. Mason, Chairman of the District of Columbia, in order that the Organization may have direct contact with all Congressional activities.

I wish to call to your attention at this time that I think it of vital importance for each State Chairman to organize classes, which I hope will not be limited merely to the State Executive Committee, but will be open to all members of the Organization to attend, where a study will be made of legislative procedure and action, not only pertaining to the Congress of the United States, but also to their State Legislatures in order that as an Organization we may be intelligently informed as to the mechanics of legislative action.

The National Legislative Committee to which Mrs. Sabin referred quickly became a most useful institution. Sub-committees on Sessions, Contact and Information were formed, and the WONPR state organizations quickly learned to depend upon their assistance. Complete files were kept as to the Repeal and Modification vote of Congressmen in the Seventy-second and Seventy-third Congresses.

In the states, Mrs. Sabin's suggestions were followed out eagerly. Many of them had legislative programs already formed, and proceeded to work for them in the

³ See Chapter xi.

most efficient ways they could discover. The zest with which this was done is illustrated by New Mexico's sprightly report at the WONPR Fourth National Conference (1933):

"We were successful in the election in the State," said Mrs. Clarke, the Chairman, "and we re-elected our one Congressman, a Wet, and we put such strong props under the butter knees of our Senators that they were able to stand up and vote in favor of the Repeal Amendment. The State Legislature convened January 8th, and we took up that well-known reducing exercise, lobbying. Then we found that legislators are as a rule more manageable directly after a hearty meal, so we gave buffet suppers. We fed legislators with incredible appetites; we made cold-slaw by the ton, and devil's-food cake, and sliced ham indefinitely!" That these realistic tactics were well-chosen is testified to by the succeeding record of legislation in New Mexico: a resolution calling for a vote on the Repeal of the state Dry law by a special convention; a bill prescribing the necessary machinery for a vote on Ratification of the Repeal Amendment; and a liquor-control bill with local option.

Such was the tenor of many state reports which reached National Headquarters. They showed how the WONPR was following up after November 8, 1932—that day which will go down in history as the one upon which the American people rejected the Eighteenth Amendment.

Chapter XI

LIQUOR CONTROL PLANS AND STATE COMMISSIONS

1933

IN ITS Declaration of Principles the WONPR stood "for the return to each state of its power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits." This was prescribed on its membership card.

From the beginning the question had constantly been asked: "If WONPR is against the Eighteenth Amendment, what substitute does it offer?" The plan which the WONPR offered was simple and definite—that the states, by vote of their citizens, be given opportunity to decide whether they wanted to be Wet or Dry. This did not suit the theoretical. With a sincere but abstract interest in liquor control they expected the WONPR to provide ready-made plans of regulation years in advance. But the Organization, with an eye to reality, knew that once public opinion was aroused for repealing the Eighteenth Amendment the governors would appoint liquor-control commissions to decide on regulation for the separate states. The WONPR plan was a political one to clear the way for such an intelligent and proper handling of liquor control in a great democracy. "There was wisdom in the old system of experimenting in forty-eight laboratories rather than in one," said Dwight Morrow, one of Repeal's pioneers.

Despite pressure from lay members of the WONPR and many taunts from the Drys, the officers of the Organization had maintained that the time was not yet ripe for discussing future methods of state liquor control. They knew too well the size and enterprise of the Organization to let its force be dissipated by working for more than one objective at a time. The objective must remain Repeal by direct political action. The officers awaited a concrete sign of victory in that struggle before they would give the word for the WONPR to attack on its second battle front of liquor control.

The insertion of a Wet plank into the National Democratic Platform of 1932 gave the signal. On the very same day (June 29th) the WONPR started a study of the various foreign systems of liquor regulation. The work was carried on for many months and resulted in the publication of a pamphlet called "Thirty-seven Liquor Control Systems of Today." The pamphlet was designed as a textbook from which the members of the Organization might learn the outline and distinguishing characteristics of the principal systems in use throughout the world. Liquor laws of the different countries were used as source material. In many instances this necessitated translation of the laws into English for the first time. During the winter a subsequent publication covered added systems. A summary of this research on the fifty varying systems of liquor regulation was printed in the 1932 Christmas edition of the *New York Times* as work done for the WONPR.

The Research Department of the Organization also published an outline of the significant plans for liquor

control which were proposed in 1932 and 1933 by various organizations and individuals in the United States. Considerable interest was shown in the subject of liquor control during the winter of 1933. Mrs. Clarke, State Chairman of the Arizona WONPR, held classes for the study of foreign systems, and this idea was taken up by Organization groups in other states. The women realized that the second phase of the battle for temperance had opened. They wanted to familiarize themselves with what had been done in other countries so that they would be in a position to suggest methods of liquor control to the citizens of their respective states.

The first woman in the United States to be officially recognized as an authority on liquor control was, most appropriately, Mrs. Lovett, WONPR State Chairman in Massachusetts. In November, 1932, Governor Ely appointed her as a member of the Warren Commission to produce a plan for the State of Massachusetts.

In January, 1933, Mrs. Sheppard, WONPR Chairman of New York State, was appointed a member of the Governor's Commission on Alcoholic Beverage Control Legislation. In the state, Mrs. Sheppard had for a long time been outstanding in her interest in liquor regulation. She had visited Russia and the Scandinavian countries in 1931 expressly to study their systems. As a result, Mrs. Sheppard had published for New York State her own proposed plan in which temperance education was emphasized.

Other members of the WONPR who have served or are serving on advisory liquor commissions in their states are:

Colorado—Mrs. Stuart P. Dodge, Mrs. Charles Boettcher, II
Delaware—Mrs. Macmillan Hoopes
Michigan—Mrs. William Donnelly
Minnesota—Mrs. Silas Bryan and Mrs. Margaret Culkin Banning
Missouri—Mrs. Clifford W. Gaylord
New Jersey—Mrs. Reeve Schley
Ohio—Mrs. Henry Nelson Rose
Oregon—Mrs. David Honeyman and Mrs. Gordon Vorhies
Pennsylvania—Mrs. Herbert L. Clark and Mrs. G. Dawson Coleman
Rhode Island—Mrs. John Nicholas Brown
Washington—Miss Augusta Trimble

Since these advisory commissions have been making a study of liquor control and drawing up recommendations for legislation, five WONPR members have been appointed to the Permanent Liquor Control Commission in Michigan: Mrs. Alger, Mrs. McAllister, Mrs. O'Brien, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. McDonald. In New York State, Mrs. Sheppard has been appointed on the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board.

The fact that so many members of the WONPR have been appointed on state commissions for the study or administration of liquor control is answer to those "doubting Thomases," mostly outside the Organization, who had questioned whether the women would stay by, once the limelight had faded, to fit the last pieces into the baffling puzzle of liquor regulation. The truth is that the members of the WONPR had come to look

realistically upon the problem of regulation which a generation before their maiden aunts had regarded only with romantic fear and horror. The failure of Prohibition has taught the women of today to make a calm, clear-eyed appraisal of liquor's proper rôle in American life, and experience in the WONPR has shown them that the leverage of their citizenship makes them responsible to use this new understanding wisely.

Chapter XII

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

RATIFICATION AND REGULATION

April, 1933

ON APRIL 5th, the WONPR held its Fourth National Conference. As the eight hundred delegates assembled in Washington it was with delighted amazement over Repeal's stride during the past four months.

In her report, Mrs. Sabin spoke of the necessity of now "translating the emotional into the practical." That might mean the disbanding of the WONPR before the time for another National Convention, a year hence. It surely would if its work for Ratification and Regulation were done as effectively as had been that for Repeal. Mrs. Sabin referred with pride to the vitality of the WONPR which had enabled it to withstand "that inevitable clash of opinion over party loyalty" following the endorsement of the Democratic Repeal Platform. A stronger sense of solidarity than ever before was felt by those who listened—those who had stayed by and those who had left in protest but returned. All realized that they had weathered their most controversial year in every respect. The spirit of the Organization itself was more vigorous, for it had defied intimidation and so strengthened itself in fiber. It had waged its battle inside and outside and had come through true to its colors. Then, too, sufficient time had passed so that many felt that the moral courage needed in demanding Repeal

had marked a change in spirit which was the first requirement for starting America upward out of its depression.

In closing, Mrs. Sabin reminded the women of their training in citizenship. "Our Organization has had a cause for which to work that has enlisted the ardent crusading spirit of every member. To make that spirit effective, we have all had to learn the A B C of politics. When we have finished our work I prophesy there is going to be free for intelligent political action along many lines, the largest body of instructed, knowledgeable women ever let loose in a democracy."

The other speaker, at the opening session, was Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler, introduced as "the very distinguished daughter of a very distinguished father." Until recently, Miss Butler had been the Vice-chairman of the New York State Republican Committee for ten years. She referred to the tragic spectacle of the great Republican party having disregarded the earnest warnings of nearly half its delegates to the National Convention last June and so having succumbed to a merited defeat at the hands of an electorate who would no longer tolerate evasion of one of the Union's most pressing problems. She reminded the women that they "had lived the whole of their political life under the shadow of national Prohibition." She called on them to now discharge their burden of educating the American people in the cause of temperance which the Eighteenth Amendment had so sharply disrupted.

The two angles of Repeal stressed at this Conference were Ratification and Regulation. At the banquet session Congressman Wadsworth urged the WONPR to

continue its "fire and aggressiveness" in accomplishing Ratification. He complimented the Organization's pioneer stand for submission of Repeal to conventions of the people. "Such a method," he pointed out, "was a vindication of the ability of the American people to govern themselves in their states, to face quickly a new political situation and to put into effect a provision of the Constitution of the United States of which not one person in ten thousand had ever heard two years ago."

During the Conference, on the second day, Mrs. Sabin called the entire Michigan Delegation, lead by its Chairman, Mrs. Alger, to the platform in order to show them off. For they had just completed, a few hours before, the first State Repeal Ratification Election held in the United States. It had been a stiff fight, for the election of delegates had been by districts instead of at-large, yet they had come through with ninety-nine delegates for Repeal out of one hundred elected.

A Liquor Control Forum was held on the second day in open session. State-commission plans of Massachusetts, New York, Michigan and Ohio were explained and discussed by members of the WONPR who had been appointed by their Governors to act on these commissions. Also Mrs. Edmunds spoke for the plan formulated by a voluntary committee in Missouri, where the Governor had not yet appointed a commission. These expositions were ably presented under the headings of manufacture, sale, and distribution. The subject proved of special value to many delegates about to work out the problems in their own states who were anxious to acquire all possible experience and knowledge from those few who had already tussled with it.

The silver cup to the state division whose increase of membership showed the greatest ratio between January, 1933, and April, 1933, was awarded to Mississippi, whose increase was one hundred and fifty per cent. After the cup was accepted by Mrs. J. Ed. Franklin, State Chairman, Mrs. Foresman of the Mississippi Executive Committee said: "Will Rogers has said that Mississippi was one of the states that was going to vote dry as long as they could stagger to the poll. I just don't believe it. I think we are going to get clear-headed and walk to the polls and vote wet."

Mrs. Foresman then raised the question of the attitude of the Federation of Women's Clubs toward Prohibition. This was a problem which had been troubling the WONPR in various states for a long time. The impression prevailed throughout the country that the federation and its member clubs were unanimously Dry. This impression had been fostered by reports sent by officers of local clubs to the state and national organizations, and by resolutions passed by the General Federation of Women's Clubs endorsing the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, not on the basis of any referendum but rather on the personal opinions of the delegates to the conventions.

As early as June, 1930, the Pennsylvania WONPR had encountered this difficulty, and passed resolutions deploring the "arbitrary policy of the present leaders of the Federated Women's Clubs in committing the national Organization to the endorsement of the Eighteenth Amendment, which by no means represents the opinions of the component members."

The Delaware WONPR determined to correct this

situation within its own territory and toward that end "asked active WONPR members in every club to insist that the attitude of the club be discussed officially by the club's executive committee before any report be made to the federated clubs. . . . Our work had the effect of creating open discussion in a number of clubs at which WONPR members talked, and so many expressed opinion for Repeal among club members that the State Federation executives feared the show of strength for Repeal and eliminated the usual resolution at the annual meeting in June, 1932."

In February, 1932, the WONPR National Executive Committee took up this question of the Federation of Women's Clubs' endorsements of the Dry cause, and adopted a resolution of protest and suggestion.¹ As a result the battle in Mississippi was particularly lively, and the State Convention of the Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs in November, 1932, was prevented from passing resolutions favoring Prohibition. Mrs. D. H. Foresman, then State President of the Mississippi State Federation, and Mrs. J. Ed. Franklin, then serving as State Chairman of American Citizenship in that organization, took the lead. "Much lobbying was done . . . before and during the Convention. We argued that Prohibition was now a political matter and had no place on the floor of our Federation Convention; that it was a political measure because it had been adopted in both Democratic and Republican National Platforms. The Prohibition leaders realized that if the Prohibition Resolutions were presented it would mean a split in the Federation, and therefore refrained." This victory won

¹ See Resolution in Appendix, pages 169-171.

for the WONPR the open support of many club women in the state.

Shortly after this, Mrs. Foresman determined to take up the matter with Mrs. Poole, the President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and in a conference with her obtained a definitive statement of Mrs. Poole's position on the question. She reported the result as follows: "In so many words Mrs. Poole stated: The General Federation (which included its subsidiaries, the state federations, etc.) exists under a charter from the United States Government. Under this charter, the organization can take on any cultural, educational and uplift movements, or other things of a like nature. However, it must remain non-political, non-partisan and non-sectarian. While the Eighteenth Amendment stood on the law books, without question it was strictly a moral question and quite in order for our organizations to pass resolutions as to our unfaltering demand that same be enforced. When the continuance or repeal of this law became a political issue, it naturally should become a matter outside of our rights as an organization."

Towards the close of the conference, Mrs. Nicoll, First Vice-chairman, paid tribute to the National Chairman:

It was said by the prophet of old that "without vision the people perish." Without your vision, Madam Chairman, this Organization would not alone have perished, it would never have come into being; without your wisdom and your guiding hand it would never have grown to maturity, and without your courage and your fixity of purpose it would never have sailed a chartered course when the seas were stormy, or reached port at last. We believe that the historian of the future will rightly ap-

praise the contribution which this Organization has made to the cause of good government. With that we are not concerned for the moment. But if the historian be a wise one and seeks an explanation for the phenomenal upheaval which has taken place in public opinion within a short time, he will find that the answer lay in the dynamic, radiant and, above all, loving personality of Pauline Sabin.

Those were words spoken by the second-in-command, the one who had shared, as no one else, with Mrs. Sabin in the first inspiration, the early uncertainties, the arduous labors and now the fruits of victory. That Mrs. Nicoll did indeed "know far better than anyone else" and moreover that she, of all others, knew best how to phrase with restraint and beauty the feeling of everyone gathered there in the Conference, was shown by their instantaneous and heartfelt response.

Reminding her audience that less than four years ago, Mrs. Nicoll and she had opened a little office in New York City with the WONPR then having seventeen members, Mrs. Sabin adjourned the Fourth National Conference of an Organization now having 1,326,862.

The note of the First National Conference had been that of surprise at finding so many comrades-in-arms; of the Second, elation over increasing membership; of the Third, grim determination to win at all costs. Now, as the Fourth National Conference broke up, the women radiated satisfaction over the nearness of victory. Yet around about lingered a shred of sadness that they had nearly worked themselves out of this job, and that another April would probably not find the WONPR meeting in Washington.

Chapter XIII

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

I

It is generally admitted that Mrs. Sabin has a way with her; it was particularly admitted in the WONPR.

Not because that now-bromidic Senator gasped: "Thank God, a pretty woman in politics at last." Not because she showed herself more astute than all the men and women pitted against her Organization. Not because her gaiety and audacious courage never flagged during the four years. No, the way she had with her was that of expecting women to do difficult, untried things because of their conviction against Prohibition. Her confidence in them was irresistible. How could they fail? Now there is nothing new about the method in itself. Many a leader has used it before. But Mrs. Sabin was the first to employ it for developing the political potentialities of the women of America in support of an issue rather than a party. That is the answer for the husbands who have inquired: "What have you done to my wife, Mrs. Sabin? She now insists upon reading the editorial page before she will pour my breakfast coffee!" That is the answer for the psychoanalysts who have wondered what was cutting into their business these past four years.

Mrs. Sabin is a taskmaster. She always required her women to know their facts and to win their point. In return, she offered them a course in practical government, for which the textbooks were controversies taking

place in their own Main Street or Assembly Chamber. Once they had signed up, it was without mercy she put them at their job. Slackers and sentimentalists never asked to repeat her course.

To those few in her ranks whom she knew to be graduates of the school of politics, she gave full responsibility. The locale was theirs, and she assumed that they knew best how to run its affairs. They could always advise with her about methods. She might differ. If so, it was with a frankness more boyish than feminine. Yet the necessity to produce the votes for Repeal remained theirs, and for this they knew she was putting them on their mettle.

Trembling undergraduates, coming down from their first public speech, heard her welcome: "Honestly, didn't you enjoy it when you got going?" Suddenly they knew they had. Her love of battle was so infectious that all they wanted was another try if only she would give it to them.

There was nothing elective about the work which Mrs. Sabin laid before her women to accomplish as Repealists. In dealing with governors, congressmen, district attorneys, business and newspaper men, social-service workers and detectives, she required that "The Sabine Women" beat them at their own game. For most, this meant a new discipline, a new experience. They emerged from it conscious for the first time of how their government actually functioned.

Everyone, except Mrs. Sabin, realizes that she *was* the WONPR. America has seen more than a million of its women follow her in a crusade which at the beginning went counter to the platforms of both major parties.

She has done much for Repeal. No other woman has done as much. But she has done more for the women of America. She recognized their capabilities in the political field. She trained them into effective use. Yet she never let the women forget that their sharpest weapon was their natural ability for fearless persuasion.

Everyone is asking what Mrs. Sabin will do next. Some say she will run a great newspaper for the women of the country in which there will be a man's page, too. Others say she will be on a ticket for a third party with Nicholas Murray Butler, Al Smith, and Walter Lippmann. But this much is certain—whatever she does she will enjoy, as will those who work for her with all their might and affection.

II

Mrs. Sabin's mind works very fast with always "an instinct for the jugular." She could be interviewing a WONPR State Chairman from the Pacific Coast, reading over a letter from a wavering Senator in Washington and at the same time telephoning a newspaper office in Chicago. Yet with so many things going at once, she was the one who spotted the trap laid by the Drys, she, the one who like a flash grasped the political significance of every move to be made by the Wets.

Thinking and working at this top speed, Mrs. Sabin was in constant need of Mrs. Nicoll's restraining hand. Mrs. Nicoll's intellectual honesty, her sense of justice, and the concise quality of her mind brought to Mrs. Sabin the greatest help she had. There was never a problem during all the four years that they did not meet and work out side by side. These were the two women

who made the combination which eventually proved so fatal to the WCTU and to the Dry Republicans. In Mrs. Sabin's absence, Mrs. Nicoll always acted as National Chairman. Her ability for exposition of constitutional intricacies was evidenced in many of the WONPR's resolutions and in the speeches which she made with an effective calm and a fine touch of irony.

Mrs. Edward S. Moore and Miss Vera C. Quinn, as the National Publicity Department, clipped every mention of Prohibition and Repeal found in the daily and weekly newspapers of the country stacked upon their desks. They published studies on various angles of Repeal such as the economic results of Prohibition and they made surveys of liquor-control laws and similar subjects. These publications were in constant demand by chambers of commerce, business organizations and civic clubs, who soon learned to turn to the WONPR as an authority on such questions.

The National Publicity Department was responsible for presenting through the radio, moving pictures, special feature articles and daily press releases an interpretation of the WONPR's objectives. This department of the Organization also prepared news letters to go out to members of the WONPR from coast to coast and from Canada to Mexico. These publications are among the most valuable records to be read today on the long fight for Repeal. Sometimes they were devoted to one particular incident such as an analysis of the vote on the Beck-Linthicum Resolution, sometimes they carried a résumé of the progress of liquor-control commissions in the various states, sometimes they gave news items from all the State Organizations. Always the news letters were informative and contemporaneous, showing their thou-

sands of recipients, scattered far from National Headquarters, how active a clearing house for news was established in New York.

Most of the literature published by the Organization was prepared by the National Publicity Department under the direction of Mrs. Anne O'Hagan Shinn, whose professional experience and human understanding enabled her to know what was wanted by the public at large and by the Organization workers in particular. Her WONPR Speakers' Handbook, full of comprehensive information on the Eighteenth Amendment, proved especially valuable.

From still another department came the Repeal motor plates and various Repeal gadgets such as scarves, neckties, cigarettes and matches. These served as successful reminders of the women's battle against the Eighteenth Amendment.

The National Treasurer, for two years Mrs. William C. Potter, succeeded by Mrs. E. Roland Harriman, and Mrs. John W. Cross ran that department with extraordinary efficiency in another room of the office.

Miss Maude Wetmore, as Chairman of the Budget Committee, saw to it that the WONPR always stayed on solid ground.

Such were the various components of National Headquarters at 485 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The one who managed expertly so that each department in the National Headquarters and in the state divisions could work to its greatest efficiency, the one whose unfailing equanimity survived all pressure of work and interruption was Mrs. Preston Lockwood, the National Executive Secretary.

If every woman's home has an atmosphere, so has

every woman's office. That of the WONPR Headquarters was keen enjoyment of the work, complete assurance that the battle would eventually be won, and amused camaraderie in the waging.

III

Mrs. Sabin is spokesman of the du Ponts and many other millionaires who are in a gamble to repeal all our dry laws and re-establish John Barleycorn under the Stars and Stripes. . . . Should Congress submit a repeal to the States, thirteen dry States would queer it all. Then the States would be free to act or refuse for seven years. What might happen in that time? Millionaire gamblers are not disposed to jump at that kind of dope. They would leave their millions in the bank rather than build distilleries and breweries on that dope. In the meantime, Mrs. Sabin must have her salary.

The above letter in the *Grand Rapids Herald* brought forth the following:

June 17, 1932.

The Editor
Grand Rapids Herald
Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Dear Sir:

A letter signed by William Richmond, appearing in your paper under date of June 8, has been brought to my attention. He states, "In the meantime, Mrs. Sabin must have her salary."

Mr. Richmond has the members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform confused with those of the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

No one in our Organization, with the exception of a small clerical staff, receives a salary. The work is done

by thousands of women volunteers who know that when working for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, they are doing patriotic work for the best interests of the country.

Yours very truly,
 Pauline Morton Sabin
 (Mrs. Charles H. Sabin,
 National Chairman)

Dr. D. Leigh Colvin, Chairman of the National Prohibition Committee, described the WONPR in these words: "Bacchantian maidens, parching for wine—Wet women who, like the drunkards whom their program will produce, would take pennies off the eyes of the dead for the sake of legalizing booze."¹

There was never any professional money-raising for the WONPR. From the beginning this immense Organization was run entirely by voluntary contributions. There were enough people in the United States who believed in the validity of the cause to make this possible. Yet no money was ever accepted from anyone who might be financially interested in the outcome.

It is pertinent here to quote a resolution passed by the National Executive Committee of the WONPR:

Since the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform is primarily dedicated to the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and in righting the abuses created by that Amendment, and its function is to make no financial contributions to any political party or candidate, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, as such, shall not contribute to anyone running for a political office, nor accept from such candidates financial assistance in any form during their respective campaigns.

¹ *New York Times*, May 23, 1932.

Chapter XIV

RATIFICATION

1933

THE WONPR quite naturally felt a special interest in State Conventions. It had been the first anti-Prohibition organization to advocate this procedure for Ratification or rejection of an amendment to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Ever since 1929 the WONPR had talked confidently, even familiarly, of State Conventions. Now as a fighting unit, the Organization proceeded to turn its words into deeds.

Those who knew the record of the Michigan WONPR were not surprised at the news that Michigan was to be first in the Ratification procession. The way in which this was brought about was characteristic of the Organization's prompt and vigorous action. A few days before the Blaine Resolution passed in February (1933), Representative Clancy wired the Michigan WONPR saying he was sure of its passage, and asking that they take immediate steps to see that the Legislature provide for a Convention before its adjournment. He suggested that to save the expense of a special election or the delay of waiting for the regular election of November 1934, every effort should be made to get the delegates to the Convention elected at the April election.

Thanks to Senator Heidkamp, a bill was put before the Legislature, and WONPR members and officers appeared before the committee hearings. The bill passed, calling for slates of one hundred Wet and one hundred

Dry candidates. The next task of the WONPR and the Crusaders was to work through their leaders in various districts to see that the nominating boards (made up of probate judges, county clerks and prosecuting attorneys of the various counties) selected responsible and representative persons for the Repeal slate. As the Repealists were unable to secure voting at large, they were most anxious about the outcome and quite overwhelmed with the vote, which elected ninety-nine delegates for Repeal and one against. Only two counties remained Dry of the sixteen which had voted Dry in November. Five WONPR workers were elected as delegates to the Convention: Mrs. Frederick M. Alger, State Chairman; Miss Catherine Doran, Mrs. Davis MacMorran, Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, and Mrs. C. A. Dean, Jr. When the convention met on April 10th, Mrs. Alger was elected president, and the whole audience stood cheering as she was escorted to the platform, the first woman ever to preside in the Legislative Chamber of Michigan.

Fifteen days after Michigan's Ratification, the Wisconsin Convention met in Madison following the popular vote of April 4th, which went five to one in favor of Repeal. Mrs. Gertrude Bowler, State Chairman of the WONPR, was the only woman among the fifteen delegates. The Convention voted unanimously for Ratification of the Amendment.

The Rhode Island Organization carried on an intensive campaign preceding the election of delegates to the Ratification Convention. During the week before the election on May 1st, front-page publicity was obtained in newspapers all over the state, and radio addresses were made every afternoon. Two days before the

election, the WONPR toured the state in a sound truck, making speeches in the principal streets of the cities. An autogiro flew over the cities, carrying a reminder to "Vote Wet Monday." The WONPR organized a motor corps to take voters to the polls on election day. The result of the election was a seven-to-one victory for Repeal. Mrs. Nathaniel W. Smith, WONPR State Chairman, was a delegate to the convention, which met on May 8th, and voted for Ratification.

On May 15th Wyoming elected, by a six-to-one vote, an all-Repeal list of delegates to the Convention, which met on May 25th.

The New Jersey WONPR began its campaign for Ratification by suggesting to political leaders the names of prominent Repealists as candidates for the Wet slate. A drive was organized to obtain signatures to petitions for the nomination of candidates. The Organization was responsible for about fifteen thousand signatures. Early in May the publicity drive was launched. This involved the use of posters, house-to-house canvasses, the distribution of twenty-thousand handbills in shops and homes and railroad stations, radio broadcasts and letters to all state newspaper editors appealing for editorial comment. A large Newark hotel gave the use of its lobby for a display of posters, cartoons and pictures, and over them the WONPR hung a sign, "Vote for Repeal on May 16th." Three days before the election an advertisement was inserted in every daily paper in the state over the name of the WONPR. At the instigation of the Organization, a message from the Governor urging the voters to go to the polls was broadcast by radio at frequent intervals during the evening before the election.

News releases of WONPR activities were published in sixty key newspapers. Telephone campaigns were carried on, and the work of election committees was supplemented by WONPR members wherever possible. The result of the election was a six-to-one victory for the Wets. The WONPR sent the following members as elected delegates to the Ratification Convention, which met on June 1st: Mrs. Ward W. Pickard, State Chairman; Mrs. Wm. A. Barstow, Mrs. Alexander Carleton, Mrs. C. B. Royce, Mrs. Frederick C. Tatum, Mrs. C. Marshall Allen, Mrs. Henry Young, Jr., Mrs. R. Stuyvesant, Mrs. Mary T. Norton, Mrs. E. C. Stout, Mrs. I. B. Kingsford, Mrs. H. V. D. Moore, Mrs. Elizabeth Verga.

The New York Organization placed speakers on practically every radio station in the state in the week preceding "Ratification Week" and also in the week before the election of delegates to the Convention, on May 23rd. During "Ratification Week" 60,000 pieces of literature were distributed describing the methods of Repeal through State Conventions, and giving date and places of registration and the date of the election. In most of the counties headquarters were established for the week preceding the election. In some counties, house-to-house canvasses were made, and motor corps were formed. At the suggestion of the WONPR the Governor called on the voters of the state, through the press, to vote for Repeal delegates, and the Lieutenant-Governor broadcasted full particulars regarding the election the day before it took place. The vote on May 23rd was eight to one for Ratification.

The following members of the WONPR were dele-

gates to the Ratification Convention, which met on June 27th: Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, National Chairman; Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll, National Vice-chairman; Mrs. John S. Sheppard, State Chairman; Mrs. William Woodward, Mrs. Cyrus Clark, Mrs. Jose M. Ferrer, Mrs. Wm. J. Flynn, Mrs. Willis T. Hanson, Jr., Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, Mrs. Christian R. Holmes, Mrs. Ross M. Lovell, Mrs. Norman E. Mack, Mrs. Wilfred Sefton, Mrs. Wm. W. Sinclair, and Mrs. John D. Wing.

In his address of welcome to the Convention, Governor Lehman said: "The Convention and the people of the State should rejoice, as I do, at the opportunity of expressing their appreciation to Mrs. Charles H. Sabin and her devoted army of women who have so valiantly fought toward our common goal." Over the protest of the Republicans, Mrs. Sabin was made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions through the efforts of Alfred E. Smith. Mrs. Sheppard, the State Chairman of the WONPR seconded the adoption of the resolution for Ratification of the Repeal Amendment, which was passed by a unanimous vote of the one hundred and fifty delegates.

In the campaign for Ratification the Delaware WONPR, co-operating with the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, selected the delegates at large for the Repeal slate. The WONPR had the petition forms printed and circulated them in every election district of the state for signature. Only one hundred signers were required by law, but the canvass of election districts for signers was used as educational publicity. The newspapers were kept supplied with articles upon all the details of the election; with interviews and state-

ments by well-known and important citizens, both men and women, saying why they would vote for Repeal delegates; and with arguments for Repeal written by the Organization or secured through the Organization.

The week of election every WONPR member received in the mail a diagram of the ballot and a circular telling why a vote for Repeal was an act of intelligent patriotism. A facsimile of the actual ballot with instructions was put by the WONPR in every newspaper in the State, town and rural, including the foreign-language papers. The week of the election the Organization gave two radio talks daily—a morning one for housewives and an evening one for voters. The most important single method of getting out the vote was a door-to-door canvass in city, town, and rural districts. The State was so organized by a combination of WONPR volunteer workers and volunteer political workers in both parties that the Wet vote was fairly well canvassed the day before election and on election day. Having workers on the job in all districts on two successive days had the psychological effect that was intended. It gave sufficient evidence of wet activity to discourage the Drys and kept timid or half-hearted Drys at home on Election day.

A very well-organized motor service did much, as in previous elections, to get out the vote, and the election, on May 27th, went three to one for Ratification.

Among the seventeen delegates to the Ratification Convention, on June 24th, two were WONPR members: Mrs. Preston Lea and Miss Julia F. Burton.

Nevada, also, voted overwhelmingly for Repeal on May 27th. The WONPR was the prime mover in the campaign, from the drafting of the bill to the getting out of the vote on election day. In nine of the seven-

teen counties, women were elected delegates to the county conventions which elected delegates to the State Convention, and when the State Convention met on September 5th, three women were members, among them Mrs. Clinedinst, Acting Chairman of the Nevada Division of the WONPR.

Illinois was the next state to line up for Ratification, by a seven-to-two vote on June 5th. None of the active WONPR members were among the Repeal delegates to the Convention, but tremendous adverse publicity because of this omission caused the politicians to include Mrs. William H. Mitchell and Mrs. Leslie Wheeler very prominently in the ceremonies. Mrs. Mitchell addressed the delegates at the Convention, calling for good regulatory state laws.

"If we can win Indiana," said Bishop Cannon, "we can block Repeal." The WONPR, meeting this challenge, found its chief task that of educating the Negro groups, who had been led, by Dry propaganda, to link up Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment with the possibility of Repeal of the Thirteenth Amendment! A vigorous campaign, however, resulted in a two-to-one vote for Repeal on June 6th. At the Convention, which ratified the Amendment on June 26th, there were fifteen members of the WONPR. These were: Mrs. Sylvester Johnson, Jr., State Chairman; Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Jr., former State Chairman; Mrs. Lilith M. Bauer, Mrs. Mayme Fogarty, Mrs. Lotta K. Horst, Mrs. Marie S. Kaiser, Mrs. Alice B. Mooney, Mrs. Adelaide G. Roemler, Mrs. Leora Chavers, Mrs. Katharine F. Pantzer, Mrs. Berthe Born, Mrs. Helen V. Costello, Mrs.

Sarah Wolf Goodman, Mrs. Eldena Lauter and Mrs. Genevieve Bassel Watson.

Massachusetts voted on June 13th electing, by a five-to-one vote, an all-Repeal Convention. Among the forty-five delegates to the Convention, which met on June 26th, were the following WONPR members: Mrs. Robert W. Lovett, State Chairman; Mrs. Agnes M. Willey, Mrs. Rena M. Colson, Mrs. Gladys P. Swift, and Mrs. Mary L. Bacigalupa.

On June 20th, three states voted for Repeal: Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Iowa.

The Connecticut WONPR prepared for the election of delegates by a publicity campaign involving the use of radio, news reels, leaflets and flyers, and on election day they maintained a motor corps to take voters to the polls. The vote was six to one for Repeal. Seven WONPR members were among the delegates to the Convention on July 11th, which ratified unanimously. They were: Mrs. Lucius F. Robinson, Jr., State Chairman; Miss Annie Burr Jennings, Miss Caroline Rutz-Reese, Mrs. Valentine Chappell, Mrs. Hiram Percy Maxim, Mrs. Stuart Clement, Miss May Moriarity.

In New Hampshire, where the WONPR had been largely responsible for defeating the Dry Governor's plans both as to the date of the Convention and as to the method of choosing delegates, the election went two to one for Repeal. One of the ten delegates elected was a WONPR member, Mrs. Norma T. Ordway. The Convention ratified unanimously on July 11th.

The Iowa branch of the WONPR, which was founded in the spring of 1932, undertook a vigorous campaign to secure Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment.

Statements were sent to the press once a week, and a motorcade which toured the state for ten days before the election on July 20, 1933, had much to do with the election of ninety-nine all-Repeal delegates. The convention met on July 10th. Among the delegates were three WONPR members: Mrs. Paul M. Seifert, Mrs. Lola Landes, and State Representative Mrs. Ada Garner. Four members of the Organization were chosen as alternates: Mrs. George Zentner, Mrs. George M. Tones, Miss Jane Bendixen, and Miss Gertrude Gruenwald.

Another new WONPR branch which helped to secure the election of a unanimous Convention was that in West Virginia, which was organized only six weeks before the date of the election on June 26th. They conducted an active campaign during May and June, 1933, and five WONPR members were among the successful delegates. Mrs. William Brewster, State Chairman, was chosen Secretary of the Convention which met and ratified on July 25th. Other delegates were Mrs. Frances Evans, Miss Edith W. Breckenridge, Mrs. Kenner B. Stephenson, and Miss Natalie Sutherland Walker.

For the Ratification campaign in California, all Repeal groups joined under the Amalgamated Association, of which the WONPR Chairman of the North California Division, Mrs. Bartlett, was Secretary. This association did much toward getting out the vote on election day, June 27th, which went for Ratification by a three-to-one majority. Three of the twenty-two all-Repeal delegates to the Convention, which met July 24th, were WONPR members: Mrs. John Macfarland, Mrs. Imogene Hook and Mrs. Grace Montgomery.

In Alabama, the brunt of the campaign was borne by the WONPR, since it was the only organized and specific group in the state working for Repeal. Field workers were sent out to speak throughout the state for several months before the election. The ballots used for the election were most confusing, because the candidates' names were listed alphabetically, with nothing to differentiate Drys from Wets; moreover, unless the ballots were marked for or against Repeal, they were not valid. In Birmingham for four days before the election, the WONPR maintained centers in hotel lobbies and office buildings where instructions were given to voters in marking the ballots correctly, and lists of Wet delegates were distributed. A large mailing list of men and women throughout the state was circularized three times with WONPR literature, including a properly marked sample ballot and instructions for marking the ballot. Extensive newspaper space and radio broadcasts were secured. An outstanding publicity event was a big "Birthday Party" in Birmingham on June 30th, to celebrate the first anniversary of the Alabama WONPR. A pageant was staged, with the cutting of a birthday cake and other stunts. In spite of an appeal issued by the Republican National Committeeman, Mr. Oliver D. Street, for all Republican voters to vote against Repeal, the election of July 18th went for Ratification by a vote of three to two. When the delegates met on August 8th, Mrs. Solon Jacobs, WONPR State Chairman, elected as a delegate-at-large, was selected Secretary of the Convention. Two other WONPR members were among the delegates: Mrs. Lucy J. Wideman and Miss Rosa Gerhart.

Arkansas also decided for Repeal on July 18th, by a three-to-two vote. The Convention met on August 1st.

Another "doubtful" state, Tennessee, voted in favor of Ratification two days later, on July 20th, and the Convention ratified the Amendment on August 11th.

The Oregon WONPR conducted an effective publicity campaign before the election on July 21st, with a motorcade into the twelve most doubtful counties, and publication, by press and radio, of the names of endorsed candidates in each county. A series of radio addresses was sponsored, and instructions to voters were broadcast six times a day on election day. An achievement of great campaign value was the obtaining of the Governor's promise to appoint a Control Committee in the event of Repeal. One hundred and eleven Repeal delegates and five Dry delegates were elected. Among the former delegation were ten officers and members of the WONPR, and when the Convention met on August 7th, it unanimously elected the WONPR State Chairman, Mrs. David T. Honeyman, as President, in recognition of the leading part played by the Organization in the crusade for Repeal. The other WONPR members who were delegates to the Convention were: Mrs. Maurice Crumpacker, Mrs. Max Hirsch, Mrs. C. S. Jackson, Mrs. Folger Johnson, Miss Agnes Quinn, Mrs. Eldon J. Steele, Mrs. George F. Wilson, Mrs. Dorothy Hesse and Mrs. Carlton P. Smith.

In Arizona, where the WONPR had sponsored radio talks in both English and Spanish on the importance of voting and how to vote on the Ratification ballot, the election on August 8th went three to one for Ratifica-

tion, sending all Repeal delegates to the convention of September 5th.

Through the alertness of the Missouri WONPR, a bill providing for the election of delegates to a State Convention was rushed through the regular session of the State Legislature and the Organization proceeded to call together a United Repeal Council to conduct the campaign. The election held August 19th, went three to one for Ratification. When the all-Repeal Convention met, on August 29th, there were five women delegates among the sixty-eight, all of them WONPR members. One of these was appointed temporary Chairman of the Convention; another was made the permanent Secretary. The WONPR delegates were: Mrs. Clifford W. Gaylord, State Chairman; Mrs. T. S. Howard, Mrs. Marie Dieterman, Mrs. A. R. Zoelsmann, and Mrs. Sterling Edmunds.

The Texas WONPR was responsible in large measure for securing the passage of the Hughes Moffitt bill, which provided for the submission of the Twenty-first Amendment to the people of the state. The election was held on August 26th, resulting in a two-to-one vote for Repeal. The Convention met and ratified on November 25th.

On August 29th Washington voted two to one to ratify the Amendment. The convention, meeting October 8th, had ninety-five Repeal and four Dry delegates. Four members of the WONPR were elected: Miss Augusta Trimble, State Chairman, who was elected Secretary to the Convention; Mrs. Norman Gibbs, Mrs. Marie Bock, and Mrs. Katherine Lebeau. The ratifying resolution was presented by the WONPR delegates, and

the Convention took a rising vote of thanks to the Organization for its work.

On September 5th the Vermont election was held, with returns two to one for Ratification. All repeal delegates were elected to the Convention of September 18th.

Maine, dry for eighty-two years, was one of the doubtful states of the thirty-six needed to ratify the Amendment. On September 11th it voted two to one for Ratification. The elected delegates to the Convention of December 6th included four members of the WONPR: Mrs. Clinton Davis, State Chairman, who led the campaign for Ratification throughout the state; Mrs. Charles Donahue, Mrs. Carleton Eaton, and Miss Sibyl Cram.

Colorado, Minnesota and Maryland joined the Ratification parade on September 12th.

Colorado voted two to one for Ratification, and of the fifteen delegates (all for Repeal) three were WONPR members: Mrs. Stuart P. Dodge (State Chairman), who addressed the Convention on the need for liquor control and presented the resolution; Mrs. Charles Boettcher II, who was elected Secretary of the Convention; and Mrs. M. M. Rinn, selected to fill the place of an absentee. The Convention ratified on September 26th.

Minnesota, voting two to one for Ratification, elected two WONPR delegates to the Convention: Mrs. Silas Bryan and Mrs. Margaret Culkin Banning. Ratification took place on October 10th.

Maryland went five to one for Ratification, electing all Repeal delegates to the Convention on October 10th.

The WONPR was represented by four members: Mrs. C. Baker Clotworthy, State Chairman; Miss Elizabeth Lowndes, Mrs. Bladen Lowndes, and Mrs. Caleb Athey.

The New Mexico WONPR, under the leadership of Mrs. Allan Clark, ended on September 19th its drive among the English and Spanish speaking population with a three-to-one victory for Ratification. The Convention met on November 2nd.

Idaho fell in line on the same day, by a vote of three to two. A strong fight, against tremendous odds, had been waged in this state by the united Repeal forces, led by Mrs. R. F. Bicknell, State Chairman of the WONPR. The Convention was held on October 17th.

Virginia, which voted two to one for Ratification on October 3rd, elected seven WONPR members, among its thirty all-Repeal delegates: Mrs. Julian Keith, State Co-chairman; Mrs. Robert T. Barton, Jr., Mrs. Andrew S. Hull, Miss Elizabeth G. Hill, Mrs. W. W. Hines, Mrs. R. A. Owen, and Mrs. Parker Hitt. The Convention met and ratified on October 25th.

The Florida WONPR led in the unification of the various Repeal forces in the state into the Florida Repeal Association, which successfully carried on the campaign preceding the election of convention delegates on October 10th. All Repeal delegates were chosen, by a four-to-one vote, for the Convention which met on November 14th. Mrs. R. C. Camp, State Chairman, was chosen Secretary of the Convention. Other WONPR members to attend as delegates were: Mrs. Helen Glenn Dann, Mrs. Joe Till, Mrs. Mamie S. Hart, Mrs. Beulah H. Hannah, Mrs. Mathewson, Mrs. Shutts, Mrs. Harry M. Voorhis, Mrs. Hortense Wells.

The battle for Ratification was drawing to a close. The Repeal forces were determined that November 7th, scheduled as Election Day in Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina and Utah, should see the Ratification of the Amendment by at least the remaining three states needed to complete their task. Every effort, therefore, was concentrated upon the Ratification campaign in those states.

Pennsylvania's campaign had been launched early, as part of a political program which included work "for the repeal of the Snyder Armstrong Act, the enactment of an omnibus bill for liquor control . . . , also for the passage of the Blaine Resolution." Thanks to the arduous labors of the Congressional and Legislative Committee, under the direction of Mrs. Charles M. Lea, the McClure Bill was finally passed in May, 1933, providing for the State Convention. The WONPR then proceeded to obtain signatures to the nominating petitions of the Repeal delegates. Before the election of November 7th, three large motor cavalcades were organized to carry speakers and publicity materials into all sections of the State. Of the fifteen delegates on the Repeal slate, three were active members of the WONPR: Mrs. Herbert Lincoln Clark, State Chairman; Mrs. Graham Dougherty, former State Chairman; and Mrs. Carroll Miller. The election went four to one for Ratification.

In North Carolina, Mrs. Louis M. Bourne, WONPR State Chairman was on the Repeal slate of delegates. In Utah, three WONPR members were listed among Repeal delegates: Mrs. John A. Hendricks, Mrs. L. B. McCormick, and Mrs. S. Grover Rich.

It was largely through the efforts of the Kentucky

WONPR that the election in that state was held on November 7th. The next regular legislative session which could pass the necessary legislation for the election of delegates to a Convention was not to meet until January, 1934, and the Governor had refused to call a special session. When it was learned in July, however, that a special session was to be called for the single purpose of providing for welfare relief, the WONPR Executive Committee wired the Governor urging the inclusion of a bill for action on Repeal in the legislative program of this special session, and followed this up by a vigorous publicity campaign to bring pressure to bear upon him to this end. The result was that the Assembly convened with instructions from the Governor to take action on Repeal. Again the WONPR, working with the United Repeal Council, began an aggressive campaign, this time interviewing legislators. "A favorite objection of our Dry opponents was their claim that the Convention method of Ratification was not constitutional. On one occasion when both Wets and Drys appeared before the Senate Rules Committee, the Drys made this point—the unconstitutionality of the Convention method. In response, a member of our Executive Board simply read Article V of the National Constitution. After adjournment, a State Senator who was in the audience during the hearing came up to our representative and said that he had been deeply interested in the argument from our side, and asked if she could get him a copy of 'that Article V.'" The legislature finally passed a bill providing for the Convention, with delegates to be elected from the state at large. The election resulted in a two-to-one vote for Repeal, and the

Convention met on November 27th, with Mrs. Todd, State WONPR Chairman, as one of the elected delegates.

In Ohio, November 7th brought a vote both on Ratification and on a state Repeal law. The Ohio Repeal Council, largely responsible for this double victory, consisted of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Crusaders, the Ohio Hotel's Association, the Voluntary Lawyers' Association, the Ohio Federation of Labor and the WONPR. The WONPR obtained eighty-two per cent of the signatures on the nominating petitions. Among the delegates elected to the Ratification Convention were the following WONPR members: Mrs. Alexander Printz, State Chairman; Mrs. George Hoadly, Mrs. Frank A. McGowan, Mrs. B. G. Huntington, Mrs. Robert S. Cummings, Mrs. Henry Nelson Rose, Mrs. Louis Bannon.

Utah voted for Ratification on November 7th, by a vote of three to two.

When the election returns were in, it was found that the two Carolinas had voted Dry. The four other states having elected Repeal slates, however, there remained only the meetings of the Conventions—on November 27th in Kentucky, on December 5th in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Utah—before the Twenty-first Amendment became a part of the Constitution.

From April to mid-December the people of the United States had watched thirty-seven states carry out in orderly manner the constitutional provision for State Conventions. Prohibition may not have been in vain if the method of its riddance has served to revive the use of State Conventions for passing on an amendment.

For it provides a channel whereby the direct voice of the people may be heard on an issue, without party obstruction. This was the constructive political method offered by the WONPR in its Declaration of Principles in 1929 and successfully championed in the subsequent four and a half years of its activity.

II

As state after state ratified Repeal, innumerable suggestions, serious and otherwise, were offered about the new causes which the members of the WONPR could then take up and push through to equal success. These ran the gamut from repealing the Direct Primary law to breaking the strangle-hold of contract bridge on the United States!

It was remarked by the *Herald Tribune*: "Mrs. Sabin's organization has developed many potential women leaders, whose talents for working in the cause of good government should continue to find expression after Prohibition Repeal has been won."¹ Some already have found such expression; others will, in one cause or another. They have enjoyed their first taste too much not to go on.

From surprising sources outside of the Organization were received urgent pleas that the WONPR continue: from an anti-suffragist who had never before seen the use of women having the vote; from a prohibitionist of long standing who felt the WONPR was too efficient an organization to disband, particularly since now it might acquire some goal worthy of itself!

¹ July 4, 1933.

As had happened to the suffragists before them, the Repealists had built up an organization which was respected by even those who did not share the conviction that was its very cornerstone. The history of women's political activity in the United States may be but a chain of reform causes. Apparently every generation has its crusade from which few women remain altogether aloof.

Be that as it may, the purposes for which the WONPR had been organized were now accomplished. On September 26, 1933, the WONPR National Executive Committee passed a resolution authorizing its National Chairman to announce the dissolution of the Organization when thirty-six states had ratified. On November 8th, Mrs. Sabin gave out the following statement:

The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform was organized for and has given its support to three principles: first, the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; second, the restoration to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits; third, that the resolution for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment should be submitted to conventions in the several states rather than to the legislatures thereof.

Therefore when on December 5th, the thirty-sixth state in convention ratifies the Amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform will be dissolved.

I know that I am speaking for all of our members when I state that as good citizens we will continue as individuals to encourage and support only such measures for the control of liquor in our respective states as will promote temperance, law and order.

In reaching their three objectives, the WONPR members had shown themselves to be a group of political women realists with the vote. Other groups of women had been organized to study political questions from afar and send round-robin petitions to the President. But the WONPR was organized to use an actual and not a theoretical means and to apply it on those in control from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

In perfecting this instrument of political power which the WONPR became, what had the women learned? Their answers tell of three things: (1) Women have become disillusioned but more intelligent citizens. (2) Women must keep impersonal in discussing matters of opinion. (3) United efforts can accomplish anything. As a State Chairman from the South liked to put it: "One bee is troublesome, yet not anything to bother about, but when a swarm gets after a man, he will take to the tall grass without arguing. So when the women get aroused and combine, the politicians capitulate."

As Honorary Chairman of the Ratification Convention in New York State, Elihu Root spoke of two lessons which the American people will have learned from the Eighteenth Amendment: one, that it was a departure from the great principle of local self-government in local affairs; the other, that human progress along the road of civilization has not been made by compulsion but by the development of higher standards of conduct, which come not from without but from within. Mr. Root ended his speech by saying: "If we have learned as a people those two great lessons, all the humiliations and the injuries we have incurred from the Eighteenth

Amendment will be but slight payment to compensate for a great and eternal reward."

As for those who have worked through the WONPR to bring home these lessons to the nation, they can claim an additional "great and eternal reward": an awakened political conscience which can never again be insensible to any call for better government.

Appendix

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We are convinced that National Prohibition is fundamentally wrong,
 - (a) Because it conflicts with the basic American principle of local home rule and destroys the balance, established by the framers of our government, between powers delegated to the Federal authority and those reserved to the sovereign states or to the people themselves,
 - (b) And because its attempt to impose total abstinence by national governmental fiat ignores the truth that no law will be respected or can be enforced unless supported by the moral sense and the common conscience of the communities affected by it.
2. We are convinced that National Prohibition, wrong in principle, has been equally disastrous in consequences in the hypocrisy, the corruption, the tragic loss of life and the appalling increase of crime which have attended the abortive attempt to enforce it; in the checking of the steady growth of temperance which had preceded it; in the shocking effect it has had upon the youth of the nation; in the impairment of constitutional guarantees of individual rights; in the weakening of the sense of solidarity between the citizen and the government which is the only sure basis of a country's strength.

The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform records these convictions and declares:

That eleven years' experience of National Prohibition has demonstrated its adoption to have been a grievous mistake, persistence in which will constitute a continuing threat to our country's well being.

That in the removal from the Federal Constitution of a provision which should never have been put into it lies the only reasonable hope of relief from conditions which have become intolerable.

That in our judgment a repeal adopted by the people of the requisite number of states and the restoration to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits should be accompanied by adequate state regulatory enactments forbidding the return of the saloon and responsive to the sentiments of the people and therefore capable of enforcement.

That such enactments would drive the crime-breeding speakeasies of the present day to the same extinction that has already met the saloon as an institution of our national life.

That the Federal government, exercising its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce should protect each state in the enforcement of its state laws according to its true function.

That the people of the United States who have never had the opportunity to pass judgment upon this question should be given such an opportunity and that therefore, that this may be accomplished in an orderly way and in accord with Constitutional procedure, we urge the Congress to submit to conventions of the people in the several states rather than to the legislatures thereof, a resolution for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

BY-LAWS

1. That the name of the Organization be the "Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform."
2. That the officers of this Organization consist of a Chairman, not less than nine Vice-chairmen, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected at an Annual Meeting for a term of two years; and, that the Chairman be au-

thorized to designate a First Vice-chairman who shall be empowered to act with full authority in the absence of the Chairman.

3. That there be an Executive Committee composed of the officers of the Organization, and not less than fifteen others to be appointed by the Chairman.
4. That there be an annual national meeting, the time and place to be decided by the Executive Committee; and four annual regional meetings to discuss national policies.
5. That there be such Standing Committees appointed by the Chairman as shall be found necessary for the development of the purpose of this Organization.
6. That the voting representation of each state shall be considered and determined at the annual meeting by the Executive Committee.
7. That the State Organizations shall follow as closely as possible the form of the National Organization.
8. That in emergencies where the time element prevents the calling of a meeting of the National Executive Committee, the National Chairman be empowered or authorized to act on questions of National Policy.
9. That there shall be no membership dues.
10. That the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform shall not contribute to anyone running for a political office, nor accept from such candidate financial assistance in any form during their respective campaigns.

RESOLUTIONS

Among the Resolutions passed by the WONPR were the following:

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Cleveland, Ohio—April 23-24, 1930

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform refer to the States for their

consideration the fact that the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Law are now essential political issues and that their sentiment in the last analysis must be accomplished through the instrumentality of the ballot.

BE IT RESOLVED, that this Organization go on record as opposing State Enforcement Acts and pledge themselves to work for their repeal.

RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform urge the state and national conventions of the two major political parties to recommend remedial legislation for the prohibition law in their platforms.

RESOLVED, that both National Conventions, the Democratic and Republican, and the State Conventions be urged to put this matter into their platform.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

New York City—June 3, 1930

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform send representatives to the State Conventions of both parties to urge them to place planks in their platforms for the Repeal of the 18th Amendment.

Louisville, Kentucky—December 3, 1930

In order to give all the people of the country an opportunity to pass on the vital issue,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform work to obtain referenda in those States where they have not yet been held on the question "Shall the Eighteenth Amendment be repealed."

Chicago, Illinois—January 21, 1931

WHEREAS, the report of the Wickersham Commission proves the failure to date of the enforcement of the Prohibition Law and at the same time points out definitely the specific reasons why the present law cannot be enforced,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Executive

Committee of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, in meeting assembled in Chicago, Illinois, on January 22nd, 1931, protests to the Congress of the United States the further appropriation of any moneys for the enforcement of the Prohibition Law as suggested in the report of the Wickersham Commission,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that such appropriations are a misuse of the taxpayers' money, which in this time of depression, stringency and need should be employed for the scientific alleviation of the above mentioned conditions and in no measure for a futile attempt to enforce a statute proved to be abhorrent to the conscience and will of a large portion of the American people.

SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C.—April 14-15, 1931

WHEREAS, during the year elapsed since the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform adopted a platform calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to the individual states of liquor-traffic control through a new amendment, submitted by Congress to State Conventions, the protest against the social and political iniquities of prohibition has gathered volume and intensity, until the question is no longer "Shall national prohibition endure?" but "How shall we constitutionally rid ourselves of national prohibition, shown by eleven years' experience to be unenforceable, to be the foe of temperance and the breeder of festering evils?" and,

WHEREAS, during this year the National Commission appointed by President Hoover, to investigate the subject of Law Observance and Enforcement (The Wickersham Commission), has made its report on prohibition as a chief factor in that situation; and that report, based on the painstaking, comprehensive and unbiased inquiry of eighteen months, supports every contention of the opponents of Prohibition as to its undermining of our social structure, and as to its unenforceability; and whereas seven of the

eleven commissioners in individual statements supplementing the report declared themselves in favor of an immediate change in the prohibition law; and only two of the eleven in favor of the retention of the Eighteenth Amendment; and WHEREAS, one of the Wickersham Commissioners (Colonel Henry W. Anderson) has submitted a plan for the modification of the national prohibition law, by amending the Eighteenth Amendment to give Congress the power to regulate or to prohibit, the manufacture, traffic in, transportation, import and export of intoxicating liquors; and has stated that "the submission of a constitutional amendment to special state conventions to decide upon such" would be the ideal way of making such a change; and has further outlined a program for the restoration of liquor-traffic control, within certain specified limits, to the States after the passage of such amendment to the Eighteenth Amendment; and,

WHEREAS, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the Honorable John J. Raskob, has suggested for the consideration of his party, when next assembled in national convention, a plan calling for a "new amendment" which shall declare that nothing in the Eighteenth Amendment shall prevent any state from directing and controlling absolutely without interference by the Federal Government, the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquors within its own borders, provided that the plan under which it proposed to do this shall have been approved by the people of the state in a state-wide referendum, and provided further that the new amendment to the Constitution shall be effective only when ratified by conventions—not legislatures—in three-fourths of the states; and,

WHEREAS, Senator Dwight W. Morrow, in the opening speech of his campaign for the Republican Senatorial nomination in New Jersey said: "I believe that the way out of the present difficulty is to recognize clearly the fundamental difference between the nature of the Federal Government and the State Government; I believe this involves the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the substitution

therefor of an amendment which will restore to the States the power to determine their policy toward the liquor traffic and vest in the Federal Government power to give all possible protection and assistance to those states that desire complete prohibition against invasion from the state that does not"; and,

WHEREAS, many other eminent citizens, public servants and candidates for public office have expressed full concurrence in the conclusion that the experiment in national prohibition has been a disastrous failure, retarding the cause of temperance, breeding corruption and a lawlessness unprecedented in a civilized state, and have differed only in regard to the details of the method of ending it; and,

WHEREAS, each of the outstanding plans is a repudiation of the prohibition law, requiring a new amendment to the Constitution abrogating its present provisions to become effective, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform recognizes that the Eighteenth Amendment can be repealed or abrogated only by a new amendment and that such new amendment, no matter how couched, is in essence a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; that the "revision" or "modification" of the Eighteenth Amendment to enable Congress to regulate or to prohibit the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors is in effect, a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; and that the adoption of a new amendment declaring that nothing in the Eighteenth Amendment shall prevent any state from controlling its liquor traffic without interference by the Federal Government is also in effect a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that insofar as the outstanding proposals for reform made during this year are predicated upon this necessity of repeal, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform is heartily in sympathy with them; but that insofar as their substitute plans may leave the matter still in the hands of Congress,

and therefore liable to be a football in successive political campaigns, it questions the finality of the release they offer, from the intolerable conditions born of the attempt at national prohibition; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that therefore the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform re-affirms the basic principle which it accepted a year ago namely: "That a repeal, adopted by the people of the requisite number of states, and the return to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits, should be accompanied by adequate state regulatory enactments, forbidding the return of the saloon and responsive to the sentiments of the people, and therefore capable of enforcement;" and declares its belief that only upon this principle can a lasting solution of this great problem be founded; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we petition the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to take such action as will give to the people of the States an opportunity to put into effect the principles to which we adhere.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the National Secretary is hereby instructed to present these resolutions in the nature of a petition to the President of the United States and to the Congress upon its convening, and to the National Committeemen and Committeewomen of both political parties and to all State Chairmen of both Parties.

WHEREAS, in 1929 the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform was organized to record the dissatisfaction of the women of the United States with conditions resulting from the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act; and

WHEREAS, in 1930 the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform in order to overcome such con-

ditions undertook to work for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to each state of its power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages; and

WHEREAS, such repeal and return of power to each state requires action by Congress and the legislatures of the states; and

WHEREAS, the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act, with their consequent abuses of widespread intemperance, hypocrisy and corruption, threaten the structure of our Government and create an issue so important as to transcend party affiliations;

BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this Conference that in order to effect the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform urge its members to support only those candidates for public office who have openly declared themselves in favor of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

New York City—September 15, 1931

WHEREAS, the delegates to the National Conventions of both major parties will be elected in the Spring primaries in the majority of the states,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform urges its members to be sure to avail themselves of their opportunity of voting for those delegates by enrolling in their parties this Autumn.

Charleston, S. C.—February 29, 1932

BE IT RESOLVED, that the following telegram be sent to those members of Congress who have declared themselves for submission, but who have not yet signed the petition to Congress asking to have the Beck-Linthicum Resolution brought to the floor for discussion: "The National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization for National

Prohibition Reform, comprising a membership of over four hundred and eleven thousand women, at its meeting in Charleston, S. C., unanimously urge you to support the Beck-Linthicum Resolution.'"

WHEREAS, the press of this country has given wide-spread publicity for the past year to statements made by representatives of the Law Enforcement Committee and the Women's Christian Temperance Union that women's organizations aggregating a membership of 12,000,000 have unitedly endorsed the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act;

AND WHEREAS, this statement misrepresents the true facts, because the 12,000,000 women referred to include the 3,000,000 members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, of which thousands of women are also members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform;

AND WHEREAS, this misstatement of facts has been caused by the fact that the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled has passed and repassed resolutions endorsing the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act;

AND WHEREAS, no referenda on these resolutions were ever taken, but instead these resolutions were passed by delegates to the Conventions, who had not received instructions on the question from their governing bodies, but who voted according to their own personal convictions and therefore could not represent, by their own vote, the opinions of the total membership of the General Federation of Women's Clubs;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform now assembled, urge its State Divisions in the future to ask all new members to indicate on their enrollment cards, the clubs of which they are members; that an effort be made to ascertain how many members of each State

Division, previous to this date, are members of a federated club; that a report on this dual membership, from time to time, be sent by the Chairmen of our State Divisions, to the Chairmen of their State Federations of Women's Clubs, incorporated in a letter which protests against the use and legality of any statement which quotes the total membership of the General Federation of Women's Clubs as endorsing the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that each State Division of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform write to the Presidents of their State Federations of Women's Clubs asking if referenda on the 18th Amendment have been held by their Federations and furthermore that they urge all women in their states who are officers of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, or of a State Federation, or of any federated club, who are also members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, to write or telegraph their protests to the President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs against the use and legality of any statement which quotes the total membership of the General Federation as endorsing the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act; and that the Chairmen of our State Divisions urge all women holding membership in the two organizations, to exert their influence with the governing body of their State Federation of Women's Clubs to bring about referenda on the 18th Amendment in their State and General Federations of Women's Clubs;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the National Secretary is hereby instructed to send copies of this resolution to the Chairmen of our several State Divisions.

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C.—April 12-13, 1932

WHEREAS, national prohibition has proven a disastrous constitutional experiment economically unsound, and sub-

versive of our form of government, resulting in moral deterioration of the body politic, in widespread crime, corruption and contempt for law,

WHEREAS, in order to adhere to our Declaration of Principles, it is the function of this organization to support that party and its candidates for President of the United States, as well as all other candidates for public office, which shall stand unequivocally for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to be submitted through conventions in the various states for ratification or rejection,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the members of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform remain non-partisan until both major political parties shall have held their National Conventions, announced their platforms and nominated their respective candidates. And until after the National Executive Committee meet, early in July, when after full discussion a majority vote shall determine which party and which presidential candidate this organization shall endorse and support.

RESOLVED, that the National Chairman of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform be instructed to send the following telegram to all prospective presidential candidates:

"The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, comprising a membership of more than a half million women, assembled in convention in Washington today, unanimously instructed me to send you and all prospective presidential candidates the following message (stop) 'Will you, if nominated by the (blank) Party for the high office of Presidency of the United States support a plank in your Party platform to submit the question of repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits to conven-

tions held in the several states for ratification or rejection?’

MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN
National Chairman”

WHEREAS, the submission of repeal (or substantial amendment) of the Eighteenth Amendment to conventions of the people in the several states is receiving serious consideration in the Congress, and,

WHEREAS, in such submission the utmost care should be taken to assure the rendering of an accurate and decisive verdict of the voting population of each State,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the members of the Congress be and are hereby requested to give earnest consideration to such matters, the unit of representation upon which the several state conventions shall be based, the number of delegates to be elected in each unit, the manner of nominating and electing delegates, the convening and procedure of the conventions, and generally to so safeguard the processes of submission and action as that the conventions shall represent and express the will of the people of the several states upon the fundamental question of repeal or retention of the Eighteenth Amendment.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this Resolution be sent by the National Secretary to all members of the Congress.

WHEREAS, in the near future the two major political Parties meet in Convention to formulate their Platforms, and,

WHEREAS, it is on these Platforms the two presidential candidates will make their campaigns,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Chairman of the Women’s Organization for National Prohibition Reform and whomsoever she may select, be empowered to appear before the Committee on Resolutions at both Conventions,

to urge, on behalf of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, planks for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the restoration to each State of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits.

WHEREAS, the duly elected delegates to National Conventions have in the last analysis, the power to reject or accept proposed planks in the National Platforms of their respective Parties;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform urge the National Chairman to instruct Chairmen of the various State Divisions to write all delegates urging them to support a plank for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the restoration to each State of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits.

WHEREAS, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform favors the return to each state of its former power to regulate the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating beverages within its own limits, and, therefore, realizes that its work will not cease with the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and, that it has a further obligation of promoting effective liquor control in the several states,

BE IT RESOLVED, that this Organization pledge itself to remain intact, directing its energy to the promotion of laws in the several states, which will promote real temperance.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Roslyn, Long Island—July 7, 1932

RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization for

National Prohibition Reform are in complete accord with the platform of the Democratic party in regard to National Prohibition.

RESOLVED, that while the President of the United States has no power to veto or change a proposed Constitutional Amendment, he has, through the prestige of his high office the power to wield directly, or indirectly great influence over legislation;

We, therefore, urge the members of this Organization because they are committed to the cause of Repeal, whether they be Republicans, or whether they be Democrats, to give their support to the nominee of that party which favors Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

RESOLVED, that, we urge the members of our Organization to support in the coming election candidates for both houses of the Congress who are committed to repeal, for in the last analysis it is that body who will inaugurate the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

There are certain Republican members of both Houses of the Congress who will come up for re-election, who in the past have stated that they favor the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Therefore, in order that our organization may show their appreciation of this support, we urge our members in such cases to vote according to their respective parties, provided both party candidates favor repeal.

Minneapolis and St. Paul—September 28, 1932

WHEREAS, both major political parties have declared against the Eighteenth Amendment, one calling for its repeal, and one for its modification, and,

WHEREAS, both political parties state that such resolutions shall be submitted for ratification or rejection to Conventions in the several states, and,

WHEREAS, there is no direct precedent to serve as guide for such action on a Constitutional Amendment,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform endeavor to obtain the valuable opinion of the American Bar Association in regard to the following questions:

- (1) Is it the province of the Congress, or of the various State legislatures to determine when such Conventions should be called?
- (2) Shall Congress, or the various State legislatures determine the unit of representation in such Conventions?
- (3) What body selects the delegates to such Conventions and in what manner are they elected?
- (4) Does Congress or the State legislatures pay the necessary expenses of such Conventions?

Princeton, N. J.—December 6, 1932

WHEREAS, the unemployment of approximately 12,000,000 people and a deficit in the National Treasury estimated at \$2,000,000,000 creates a National emergency, and,

WHEREAS, the passage of a Beer Bill would provide immediate alleviation of both these conditions,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that for economic and humanitarian reasons, the WONPR while reaffirming its stand for the unequivocal Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, pending this latter action by the Congress, lend its support to the immediate passage of a Beer Bill, provided, however, that such Bill give to the several states, within their own borders, complete control over the manufacture, transportation and sale of such beer.

WHEREAS, with the passage in the near future by vote of both Houses of the Congress of the resolution for straight

Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, for ratification by Conventions in the several states called for this purpose, the first objective of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform will have been successfully reached.

AND WHEREAS, such objective is of no value without the ratification of the Resolution by three-fourths of the state conventions, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform recognizes that the most important phase of its work lies directly before it and must be successfully carried through if its declaration of principles and program is to succeed,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the State Committees, with the full force of their powers and energies, concentrate on enlarging the membership and increasing all organization activities, that they may be ready through numbers and organization, to take part successfully and conclusively in the election of delegates to the several State Conventions who are committed to the unconditional repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, true to its principles, will stand united until such time as after ratification, the Legislatures of the several States shall have enacted regulatory laws, responsive to public opinion and therefore capable of enforcement, and which will bring about a return to decency, respect for law and true temperance.

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C.—April 5-6, 1933

WHEREAS, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform advocated the immediate modification of the Volstead Act for the alleviation of economic distress, pending Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and,

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has subsequently passed legislation modifying the Volstead Act,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Women's Organization for

National Prohibition Reform, through its State Divisions, appeal to their legislators, as well as to the conscience of the American people, to enact such laws and support such action as will promote temperance and order to the end that the example thus set will hasten Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Since the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform is dedicated primarily to the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and in righting the abuses created by that Amendment, and its function is to make no financial contributions to any political party or candidate, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, as such, shall not contribute to anyone running for a political office, nor accept from such candidate financial assistance in any form during their respective campaigns.

WHEREAS, we believe that the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform successfully carried forward the nation-wide crusade for repeal only because of the able and understanding cooperation and accord among all the state branches making up this national organization, and

WHEREAS, we believe that some method should be devised whereby the state branches in those states where ratification is reasonably certain might assist those states where sentiment for ratification must be developed and spurred to action in the campaign to elect ratification delegates to the state conventions, and

WHEREAS, we further believe that such help from states where Repeal is assured to those states where it is questionable can only be effective when adapted to the needs of such states, of which the State Organization alone can judge, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the representatives of state branches here assembled recommend to their state organi-

zations this interchange of assistance, upon request, in such matters as the loan of speakers, organizers, and other workers, publicity forms, and any other workable service, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that each state is requested to report to national headquarters as early as possible after the close of this meeting, the state's situation relative to giving or desiring assistance, according to the purport of this resolution.

WHEREAS, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, realizing that the Convention method of ratification was the only effective method of obtaining a clear-cut expression of the people's will, and

WHEREAS, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform had the far sighted vision to advocate this method of ratification and was the first Organization so to do, embodying it in its Declaration of Principle in April, 1930, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the several State Organizations work untiringly to elect those candidates favoring repeal to the Ratification Conventions in their states; that, where possible, they organize public meetings, use the radio and the press, circulate pamphlets and organize their members into a Campaign Committee to the end that Ratification in their several states be assured.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Roslyn, Long Island, N. Y.—September 26, 1933

WHEREAS, with the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the objective for which this Organization was formed, as embodied in its Declaration of Principle, and to which its membership is pledged, will have been accomplished,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, by the National Executive Committee that when the thirty-sixth state shall

have ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, the National Chairman be authorized to announce publicly that, the aim of the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform having been attained, the Organization thereupon be dissolved;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Chairman and the Executive Committee deem that an additional responsibility rests not only with them, but upon the entire membership of the WONPR that having met with success in helping to rid the country of the Eighteenth Amendment and its attendant evils, they individually, in their respective states, should encourage and support the enactment of sane liquor-control laws.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, New York City, April 23, 1930—
April, 1934

SECRETARIES

Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll, New York City, April 23, 1930—
June, 1931
Mrs. Archibald B. Roosevelt, New York City, Feb., 1932—
Dec. 7, 1932
Mrs. Wilmarth S. Lewis, Farmington, Conn., Dec. 7, 1932
—April, 1934

TREASURERS

Mrs. William C. Potter, New York City, April 23, 1930—
July 7, 1932
Mrs. E. Roland Harriman, New York City, July 7, 1932—
April, 1934

ASSISTANT TREASURERS

Mrs. E. Roland Harriman, New York City, May 22, 1930
—July 7, 1932
Mrs. John W. Cross, New York City, July 7, 1932—April,
1934

FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN

Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll, New York City, June, 1931—April, 1934

VICE-CHAIRMEN

Mrs. John B. Casserly, San Francisco, Calif., April 23, 1930—April 13, 1932

Mrs. Amasa Stone Mather (now Mrs. John W. Cross), Cleveland, Ohio, April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. Huston Whiteside,* Hutchinson, Kans., April 23, 1930—July 2, 1931

Mrs. F. Lothrop Ames (now Mrs. Roger W. Cutler), Boston, Mass., April 23, 1930—April 13, 1932

Mrs. Pomeroy T. Francis (now Mrs. Preston Lockwood), Morristown, N. J., April 23, 1930—April 13, 1932

Mrs. Graham Dougherty, Philadelphia, Pa., April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. James Ross Todd, Louisville, Ky., April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. Andreini, Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. Wm. E. Norvell, Jr., Nashville, Tenn., April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. Benjamin F. Bart,** Milwaukee, Wisc., April 23, 1930—April, 1931

Mrs. Henry B. Joy, Detroit, Mich., April 23, 1930—April, 1934

Mrs. Lucius F. Robinson, Jr., Hartford, Conn., April 13, 1932—April, 1934

Mrs. Pierre S. du Pont, Wilmington, Del., April 13, 1932—April, 1934

Mrs. William B. Mason, Washington, D. C., April 13, 1932—April, 1934

Mrs. Robert W. Lovett, Boston, Mass., April 13, 1932—April, 1934

* Deceased.

** Resigned.

- Mrs. Ford W. Thompson, St. Louis, Mo., April 13, 1932—
April, 1934
- Mrs. Mae L. Hamilton, Omaha, Neb., April 13, 1932—
April, 1934
- Mrs. Ward W. Pickard, Nutley, N. J., April 13, 1932—
April, 1934
- Mrs. David Honeyman, Portland, Ore., April 15, 1931—
April, 1934
- Miss Maude K. Wetmore, Newport, R. I., April 23, 1930—
April, 1934
- Mrs. George Orvis, Manchester, Vt., April 13, 1932—April,
1934
- Mrs. Julian Keith, Warrenton, Va., April 13, 1932—April,
1934
- Mrs. Leslie Wheeler, Chicago, Ill., April 13, 1932—April,
1934
- Mrs. Leo L. Leventritt,** Tulsa, Okla., April 15, 1931—
Oct. 26, 1931

STATE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

ALABAMA

Chairmen

Mrs. Lawrence O'Donovan 1931-1932

Mrs. Solon Jacobs 1932-1933

Executive Committee and Board Members

Mrs. W. B. Leedy

Mrs. J. E. Frazier

Mrs. Sam Jacobs

Mrs. Don Maring

Mrs. Lucy J. Wideman

Mrs. Belle M. Claypool

Miss Mollie Dowd

ARIZONA

Chairmen

Mrs. John W. Murphy 1931

Mrs. Charles A. Belin 1931-1932

Mrs. Nona Shelton 1932-1933

Treasurer

Mrs. Gordon S. Sawyer

Executive Committee

Mrs. John Murphy

Mrs. Gordon S. Sawyer

Mrs. Victor Gore

Mrs. Nona Shelton

CALIFORNIA (Northern)

Honorary Chairman

Mrs. John B. Casserly

1930-1933

Chairman

Mrs. Edward Otis Barlett

1932-1933

Vice-chairman

Mrs. W. Parmer Fuller, Jr.

Treasurer

Mrs. Edward H. Clark, Jr.

Advisory Board

Mrs. George M. Bowles

Mrs. Tobin Clark

Mrs. Leo J. Clayburgh

Mrs. Thomas A. Driscoll

Miss Sarah Hagan

Mrs. E. S. Heller

Mrs. James Jackman

Mrs. Marcus Koshland

Miss Mary Ashe Miller

Mrs. A. S. Musante

Mrs. Robert W. Patterson

Mrs. Powers Symington

Mrs. Charles H. Jones

Mrs. Walter S. Martin

Mrs. Edison A. Holt

CALIFORNIA (Southern)

Chairmen

Mrs. C. S. Littleton, Jr.

1932

Mrs. Sydney I. Wailes, Jr.

1932-1933

Los Angeles County Executive Committee

Miss Katharine Mellus (Membership Chairman)

Mrs. Charles C. Bull (Publicity Chairman)

Mrs. Charles Gardner Bullis

Mrs. Richard Gallagher

Mrs. Robert Davis Matthews

Mrs. Alexander MacDonald

Mrs. Harry Morse

Mrs. Donald O'Melveny

Mrs. Everett Seaver

Mrs. Harold Wrenn

COLORADO

Chairman

Mrs. Stuart Phelps Dodge

1932-1933

Secretary

Mrs. Gerald Webb Bennett

Treasurer

Mrs. John F. Gallagher

CONNECTICUT

Chairman

Mrs. Lucius F. Robinson, Jr.

1930-1933

Vice-chairmen

Miss Annie B. Jennings

Mrs. Hiram P. Maxim

Mrs. Ernest Howe

Mrs. Richard Bissell

Mrs. John L. Kavanaugh

Secretary

Mrs. Stuart H. Clement

Assistant Secretary

Mrs. Thomas Wallace, 3rd

Treasurer

Mrs. Wilmarth Lewis

Executive Committee

Mrs. Curtiss Bacon

Mrs. Lucius F. Robinson, Jr.

Mrs. Stuart H. Clement

Mrs. Wilmarth Lewis

Miss Annie B. Jennings

Mrs. Hiram P. Maxim

Mrs. Ernest Howe
Mrs. Richard Bissell
Mrs. John L. Kavanaugh
Mrs. Robert Ream
Mrs. Thomas Wallace, 3rd
Mrs. James Greenway
Mrs. John M. Gates
Mrs. Nora Harris
Mrs. T. I. Driggs
Mrs. John Whitehead
Mrs. Luis De Florez
Mrs. A. Morgan Pease
Miss Eva Hoyt
Mrs. Vonsiatsky
Mrs. Woodruff Clark
Mrs. Wilbur L. Cross, Jr.
Miss Mary Jerman
Mrs. R. L. MacBee
Mrs. Charles Botomley

DELAWARE**Chairman**

Mrs. Pierre S. du Pont

1931-1933

Executive Committee

Mrs. Pierre S. du Pont

Mrs. Edward C. Sudler, (Vice-chairman)

Mrs. Preston Lea, (Vice-chairman)

Miss Jeannette Eckman, (Vice-chairman)

Miss Charlotte C. Mahaffy, (Secretary)

Mrs. MacMillan Hoopes, (Treasurer)

Mrs. William Bright, (Chairman for Wilmington)

Mrs. William C. Spruance, Newcastle County Chr.

Mrs. Cummins Speakman, Kent County Chr.

Mrs. Sanders M. Truitt, Sussex County Chr.

Standing Committees

Miss Jeannette Eckman (Information)

Miss Mildred L. Simpson (Meetings and Speakers)

Mrs. Campbell Weir (Finance)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Chairman

Mrs. William Beverley Mason 1930-1933

Honorary Chairman

Miss Bell Gurnee

First Vice-chairman

Hon. Mary T. Norton

Second Vice-chairman

Miss Elizabeth Harris

Third Vice-chairman

Mrs. Milton King

Fourth Vice-chairman

Mrs. Rose Y. Forester

Fifth Vice-chairman

Mrs. Henry Leonard

Secretary

Mrs. Frederick R. Solger

Treasurer

Mrs. John F. Dryden

IDAHO

Chairman

Mrs. R. F. Bicknell 1933

Secretary

Miss Eloise B. Dodge

Committee

Mrs. Teresa Graham

Mrs. Gladys Terhune Keel

Mrs. James McDonald

Mrs. E. E. Laugaugh

Mrs. Leo J. Falk

Mrs. Will Simons

Mrs. Frank Johnesse

Mrs. Lawrence Bettis

Mrs. W. H. Green

Miss Ethel Azcuenaga

ILLINOIS

Co-chairmen

Mrs. Leslie Wheeler 1931-1933

Mrs. William H. Mitchell

Recording Secretary

Mrs. Vincent Healy

Corresponding Secretary

Mrs. Valentine C. Bartlett

Treasurer

Mrs. Katherine Field Rodman

Executive Committee

Mrs. George E. Brennan

Mrs. Kent Clow

Mrs. Joseph M. Cudahy

Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank

Mrs. Stanley Field

Mrs. Richard A. Frank

Mrs. Ernest R. Graham

Mrs. John F. Jelke, Jr.

Mrs. Wirt Morton

Miss Emily Napieralski

Mrs. William Nitze

Mrs. George R. Nichols, Jr.

Mrs. William A. Sauer

Mrs. Charles H. White

INDIANA

Chairmen

Mrs. Jacquelin S. Holliday

1931-1932

Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Jr.

1932

Mrs. Sylvester Johnson, Jr.

1932-1933

Co-chairmen

Mrs. Richard Edwards

Mrs. Jacquelin S. Holliday

Vice-chairman

Mrs. Robert A. Adams

Treasurer

Mrs. George S. Olive

Secretary

Mrs. Elias C. Atkins

Recording Secretary

Mrs. Robert F. Scott

Executive Committee

Mrs. Clifford Arrick

Mrs. Elias C. Atkins

Mrs. Henry W. Bennett

Mrs. Cecil B. Fowler

Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Jr.

Mrs. George S. Olive

Mrs. Mark Pangborn

IOWA

Chairmen

Mrs. Frances Hubbell

1932

Mrs. Vernon L. Clark

1933

Corresponding Secretary

Miss Eleanor Linn

Executive Secretary

Mrs. V. L. Clark

Treasurer

Mrs. Gertrude Rollins

Executive Committee

Mrs. James Hubbell

Mrs. Edward R. Meredith

Mrs. J. G. Chase

Mrs. Garrett E. Lamb

Mrs. John Fleming

Miss Nancy Moir

Mrs. James Hanrahan

Mrs. J. H. Polk

Mrs. Phineas M. Henry

Mrs. Sarah Lawrence

KANSAS

Chairman

Mrs. Houston Whiteside (deceased)

1931

KENTUCKY

Chairman

Mrs. James Ross Todd

1930-1933

First Vice-chairman

Mrs. Attwood R. Martin

Second Vice-chairman

Mrs. John C. Engelhard

Third Vice-chairman

Mrs. Wm. Marshall Bullitt

Secretary

Mrs. John L. Helm, Jr.

Assistant Secretary

Mrs. Alex G. Kirby

Treasurer

Mrs. Karl Jungbluth

MAINE

Chairman

Mrs. Clinton W. Davis

1932-1933

Treasurer

Mrs. James W. Ricker

Secretary

Miss Miriam Kimball

Executive Committee

Mrs. Robert L. Denison

Mrs. Charles L. Donahue

Mrs. David Gray

Mrs. Donald M. Payson

Mrs. Robert Payson

Mrs. John B. Payson

Mrs. Samuel G. Shartle

Mrs. Deane B. Small

Mrs. Langdon T. Thaxter

Mrs. Mortimer Warren

MARYLAND

Chairman

Mrs. C. Baker Clotworthy

1930-1933

Vice-chairman

Mrs. William Cabell Bruce

County Chairman

Mrs. W. Bladen Lowndes

Publicity Chairman

Mrs. Robert O. Bonnell

Secretary

Mrs. Donald B. Cary

Treasurer

Mrs. Benjamin H. Brewster, Jr.

Executive Committee

Mrs. Sydney M. Cone

Mrs. J. Crossan Cooper

Mrs. Julius W. Freeman

Mrs. Richard N. Jackson

Mrs. William Keyser

Mrs. Allan McLane

Dr. Esther L. Richards

Mrs. Clarence W. Wheelwright

Mrs. James Gustavus Whiteley

Mrs. William H. Wilmer

MASSACHUSETTS

Chairman

Mrs. Robert W. Lovett

1930-1933

Co-chairman

Mrs. Roger W. Cutler

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Colin W. MacDonald

Mrs. William Lowell Putnam

Mrs. Frank C. Scanlan

Mrs. Guy Waring

Secretary

Mrs. Charles A. Coolidge, Jr.

Treasurer

Mrs. Amor Hollingsworth

Executive Committee

Mrs. Gordon Abbott

Mrs. Charles G. Andrews

Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley

Mrs. Hugh Bancroft

Mrs. H. Addington Bruce

Mrs. Maurice J. Curran

Mrs. Sydney Dreyfus

Mrs. George R. Fearing

Miss Virginia Gardner
Mrs. Robert F. Herrick
Mrs. Christian A. Herter
Mrs. Marion L. Higgins
Mrs. Francis L. Higginson
Mrs. John J. Horgan
Mrs. Louis E. Kirstein
Mrs. J. Hasbrouck LeFevre
Mrs. Joseph Alexander McCord
Miss Mary E. Meehan
Mrs. John W. Myers
Mrs. Isaac Patch
Mrs. Morton P. Prince
Mrs. Roger Lowell Putnam
Mrs. James Roosevelt
Mrs. Richard P. Strong
Mrs. Harry Hill Thorndike
Mrs. Barrett Wendell
Mrs. H. Parker Whittington

MICHIGAN

Chairman

Mrs. Frederick M. Alger

1930-1933

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Edwin S. Barbour

Mrs. C. A. Dean, Jr.

Mrs. James S. Holden

Mrs. Lucian S. Moore, Jr.

Mrs. Phelps Newberry

Mrs. C. E. Sullivan

Mrs. Myron B. Vorce

Secretary

Mrs. Sidney D. Waldon

Treasurer

Mrs. Edwin S. Barbour

Board of Directors

Mrs. Frederick M. Alger

Mrs. Edwin S. Barbour

Mrs. E. A. Batchelor

Miss Marie J. Behnke
Mrs. Joseph A. Braun
Mrs. Frank W. Brooks, Jr.
Miss Emma Butzel
Mrs. Carolyn K. Chandler
Mrs. William F. Connolly
Mrs. C. A. Dean, Jr.
Mrs. William M. Donnelly
Mrs. J. Vincent Dwyer
Mrs. Consuello Edmister
Mrs. Henry T. Ewald
Mrs. Stuart A. Fraser
Mrs. Harry B. Gillespie
Mrs. G. A. Hendricks
Mrs. J. L. Hibbard
Mrs. James S. Holden
Mrs. Henry B. Joy
Mrs. Edwin Krieghoff
Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister
Mrs. Lynn McNaughton
Mrs. Othmar Meeske
Miss Elsie C. Mershon
Mrs. Sidney T. Miller
Mrs. Lucian S. Moore, Jr.
Mrs. Stewart W. Munroe
Mrs. Fred T. Murphy
Mrs. Phelps Newberry
Mrs. Robert E. O'Brien
Mrs. Daniel L. Quirk
Mrs. Harry Rickel
Mrs. George W. Rogers
Mrs. Joseph G. Standart
Mrs. C. E. Sullivan
Mrs. Myron B. Vorce
Mrs. Sidney D. Waldon
Mrs. Frederick R. Waldron
Mrs. Cameron B. Waterman

MINNESOTA

Chairmen

Mrs. Rufus R. Rand 1931-1932

Mrs. Edmund J. Phelps

Mrs. C. A. Kalman 1933

Vice-chairman

Mrs. John S. Dalrymple

Secretary

Mrs. Silas Bryan

Treasurer

Mrs. Harold O. Hunt

Executive Committee

Mrs. Harold H. Ward

Mrs. C. F. Haglin, Jr.

Mrs. Walter J. Thorp

Mrs. F. G. Atkinson

Miss Mae Sullivan

Mrs. Edwin Baer

Mrs. Clarence E. Hill

Mrs. Rufus R. Rand, Jr.

Mrs. E. J. Phelps

Mrs. Dwight K. Yerxa

Mrs. H. B. Haroldson

Mrs. Wheelock Whitney

Mrs. Frank Horton

Miss Helen Grant

Mrs. H. S. Mitchell

Mrs. E. L. McNulty

Mrs. John S. Pillsbury

Mrs. J. M. Dain

Mrs. W. H. Lee

Miss Elizabeth Quinlan

Miss Alice O'Brien

Mrs. Oscar Owrie

Mrs. Albert H. Crosby

Mrs. Walter Ramsey

Mrs. Milton W. Griggs

Mrs. Fred Stutz

Mrs. E. C. Congdon
 Mrs. Margaret Banning
 Mrs. Carlyle Heimbach
 Mrs. Gunnar Nasburg
 Mrs. C. G. Ireys
 Mrs. H. H. Irvine
 Miss Elizabeth Blackburn
 Mrs. T. L. Daniels
 Mrs. Victor Robertson
 Mrs. Montague Irwin
 Mrs. Henry E. Atwood
 Mrs. Dana Stone
 Mrs. Williston Rich

MISSISSIPPI

Chairman

Mrs. J. Ed. Franklin

1933

Secretary and Treasurer

Mrs. F. W. Mitts

First Vice-chairman

Mrs. John Cain, Jr.

Second Vice-chairman

Mrs. George S. Dodds

Third Vice-chairman

Miss Stella A. Gex

Fourth Vice-chairman

Mrs. B. D. Moore

State Director

Mrs. D. H. Foresman

Executive Committee

Mrs. J. H. McGee

Miss Louise Mallard

Miss E. Virginia Benbrook

Mrs. L. W. Wynter

Mrs. Nell Hunt

Mrs. E. R. Walton

Mrs. D. H. Foresman

Mrs. John Cain, Jr.

Mrs. F. W. Mitts

Mrs. Brook O'Leary
 Mrs. N. T. Levings
 Mrs. J. L. Blackwell
 Miss Louise Mallard
 Miss Louise Stovall
 Mrs. Ludwig Ullman
 Mrs. W. R. Miller
 Mrs. Laura M. Hobbs
 Miss Katherine Denny
 Mrs. Edgar Guice
 Mrs. J. C. Clancy
 Mrs. Van Cleestre
 Mrs. Wade Negus
 Mrs. H. C. Patterson
 Mrs. Robert B. Mayes

MISSOURI

Chairmen

Mrs. Ford W. Thompson	1930-1932
Mrs. Clifford W. Gaylord	1932-1933

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Louis P. Aloe
 Mrs. Charles McLure Clark
 Mrs. Sterling Edmunds
 Mrs. Harry H. Langenberg
 Mrs. Clinton L. Whittemore

Secretary

Mrs. Howard Benoist

Treasurer

Mrs. Scott Porter

Executive Committee

Mrs. Thomas R. Akin
 Mrs. L. W. Baldwin
 Mrs. Lynton T. Block
 Mrs. James W. Byrnes
 Mrs. L. Ray Carter
 Mrs. George K. Conant
 Mrs. Henry S. Cushman
 Mrs. John T. Davis

Mrs. John B. Denvir, Jr.
Mrs. T. J. Drew
Miss Georgia Elliot
Mrs. Samuel W. Fordyce
Mrs. Russell E. Gardner
Mrs. Louis J. Hayward
Mrs. J. Howard Holmes
Mrs. E. G. Hotchkiss
Mrs. Ben F. Jacobs
Mrs. I. D. Kelley
Mrs. Birch O. Mahaffey
Mrs. George D. Markham
Mrs. J. Lawrence Mauran
Mrs. S. C. McCluney
Mrs. Howard O'Fallon
Mrs. Guido Pantaleoni
Mrs. Charles Parsons Pettus
Mrs. Thomas M. Pierce
Mrs. Mary B. Pollard
Miss E. Schnaider
Mrs. E. T. Stanard
Mrs. Harry B. Wallace
Mrs. Robert B. Wallace
Mrs. F. O. Wats
Mrs. Joseph L. Werner
Mrs. Orion J. Willis
Mrs. J. S. Wahl
Mrs. Gordon Beaham
Mrs. John S. Fennelly
Mrs. William McBride
Mrs. H. C. Butler
Mrs. David M. Flourney
Mrs. Walter Pfeffer
Mrs. B. K. Leach
Mrs. W. F. Randolph
Mrs. William Peyton Tucker
Mrs. W. C. Irwin

Mrs. C. C. Wolff

Mrs. Harvey Terry

MONTANA

Chairmen

Mrs. W. A. Simons

1931

Mrs. Cornelius F. Kelley

1932-1933

Vice-chairman

Mrs. T. J. Walker

Vice-chairman

Mrs. L. O. Evans

Treasurer

Mrs. A. F. Rice

Secretary

Miss Morah Carmichael

Executive Committee

Mrs. W. A. Simons

Mrs. Walter G. Hansen

Mrs. E. G. Marsh

Mrs. W. G. Conway

Mrs. Paul Van Cleve

Mrs. W. W. Pendergast

Mrs. W. W. Hamilton

Mrs. LeRoy Southmayd

Mrs. Sara McHale

Mrs. Burk Sinclair

Mrs. W. W. Andrus

Mrs. J. L. Taylor

NEBRASKA

Chairman

Mrs. Mae L. Hamilton

1932-1933

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Margaret P. Hynes

Mrs. Joseph Barker

Mrs. A. L. Reed

Mrs. F. A. Nash

Executive Secretary

Mrs. George B. Dyball

Corresponding Secretary

Mrs. Charles W. Hamilton, Jr.

Recording Secretary

Mrs. John E. Costello

Treasurer

Mrs. J. Francis McDermott

Executive Committee

Mrs. Malcolm Baldrige

Mrs. Alfred Brown

Mrs. S. S. Caldwell

Mrs. Arthur Cohen

Mrs. Gould Dietz

Mrs. Yale Holland

Miss Ophelia Hayden

Mrs. Morris Jacobs

Mrs. W. K. Kellogg

Mrs. L. M. Lord

Mrs. E. T. Munroe

Mrs. Louis Nash

Mrs. Harvey Newbranch

Mrs. Sidney Smith

Mrs. Ernest Schurman

Mrs. Jesse Whitmore

Mrs. Bernard McNeny

Mrs. Webb Rice

Mrs. Charles O. Meidell

NEVADA

Acting Chairman

Mrs. Lillie B. Clinedinst

1933

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Chairman

Mrs. P. O. Skinner

1932-1933

Secretary

Mrs. Kenneth Robinson

Treasurer

Mrs. Henry L. Smyth, Jr.

Chairman of Coos County

Mrs. Norma T. Ordway

Chairman of Cheshire County

Mrs. William A. Taylor, Jr.

Executive Committee

Mrs. Elmer Carleton

Mrs. John Plane

Mrs. Frank Davison

Mrs. C. F. Holbrook

Mrs. Dean Pearson

Mrs. James Campion, Jr.

Mrs. James Jameson

Mrs. John Glynn

Mrs. H. L. Smyth, Jr.

Miss Erma Gates

NEW JERSEY

Chairmen

Mrs. R. S. Pierrepont

1931

Mrs. Pomeroy Francis

1931-1932

Mrs. Ward W. Pickard

1932-1933

Secretary

Mrs. Clarence B. Mitchell

Treasurer

Mrs. W. K. Vanderpoel

Assistant Treasurer

Mrs. Henry Young, Jr.

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Alexander Carleton

Mrs. Murray H. Coggeshall

Mrs. George H. Miles

Mrs. H. V. D. Moore

Mrs. Malcolm Muir

Mrs. Russell Phillips

Mrs. R. Stuyvesant Pierrepont

Mrs. George S. Silzer

Miss Mary Rodman

Mrs. Edmund C. Stout

NEW MEXICO

Chairman

Mrs. Allan Clark

1932-1933

Vice-chairman

Mrs. James Goodwin

Secretary

Mrs. McHarg Davenport

Treasurer

Mrs. E. Dana Johnson

Executive Committee

Mrs. Margaret Abreu

Mrs. Wheaton Augur

Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca

Mrs. William J. Barker

Mrs. James L. Breese, Jr.

Mrs. Samuel Campbell

Mrs. Gerald Cassidy

Mrs. Hunter Clarkson

Mrs. Arthur Cable

Mrs. David Chavez

Mrs. Charles Fahy

Mrs. Eugene Fiske

Mrs. Huber Gault

Mrs. Leopoldo Gonzales

Mrs. John Hay

Mrs. Gaston Lee Holmes

Mrs. Mariot Murphy

Mrs. Langdon Mitchell

Mrs. William Neilsen

Mrs. W. G. Turley

Mrs. James J. Dempsey

NEW YORK

Chairmen

Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll

Mrs. John S. Sheppard

First Vice-chairman

Mrs. William Woodward

Secretary

Mrs. Edward K. McCagg

Treasurer

Mrs. Jose M. Ferrer

1930

1930-1933

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Cornelius N. Bliss
 Mrs. Cyrus Clark
 Mrs. William T. Emmet
 Mrs. G. M. G. Forman
 Mrs. Wm. Morton Grinnell
 Mrs. Horace L. Hotchkiss, Jr.
 Miss Mary V. Hun
 Mrs. Florence Osler
 Mrs. Edward W. Root
 Mrs. Samuel Sloan
 Mrs. Frank Thilly

Executive Committee

Mrs. George S. Amory
 Mrs. Cornelius N. Bliss
 Mrs. Mabel Jacques Eichel
 Mrs. William T. Emmet
 Mrs. Lyttleton Fox
 Mrs. Wm. Morton Grinnell
 Mrs. Christian R. Holmes
 Mrs. Marion Booth Kelley
 Mrs. Charles E. F. McCann
 Mrs. Frederic A. Muschenheim
 Mrs. Courtlandt Nicoll
 Mrs. William C. Potter
 Mrs. Herbert L. Pratt
 Miss Henrietta St. John
 Mrs. Radcliffe Swinnerton
 Miss Phyllis B. Thompson
 Mrs. Coffin Van Rensselaer

NORTH CAROLINA

Chairmen

Mrs. W. N. Harriss
 Mrs. Louis M. Bourne

1931

1932-1933

Honorary State Chairman

Mrs. William M. Harriss

Vice-chairman

Mrs. W. M. Wooding

Secretary

Mrs. Tench C. Coxe

Treasurer

Mrs. S. Herbert Brown

Executive Committee

Mrs. Moultrei Hanes

Mrs. Sheldon Leavitt

Mrs. Arnold Vanderhoof

Mrs. Tench C. Coxe

Mrs. S. Herbert Brown

Mrs. Thomas A. Jones

Mrs. Francis C. Bourne

Mrs. Edward King

Mrs. Thomas P. Cheesborough

Mrs. U. G. Speed

Mrs. Thomas Wadley Raoul

Mrs. Alan McDonald

Mrs. E. W. Ewbank

Mrs. William A. Hyatt

Mrs. Donald Wilson

Mrs. Giles W. Cover

Mrs. W. R. Kirk

Mrs. William M. Harriss

Miss Jenny Westfeldt

Miss Bessie Bunn

Mrs. Swift M. Boatwright

Mrs. Jessie Keenan Wise

Miss Emily Keenan

NORTH DAKOTA

Chairmen

Mrs. Pierce Blewett

1931

Mrs. Dugald Stewart

1932-1933

OHIO

Chairmen

Mrs. George Hoadly

1931

Mrs. Amasa Stone Mather

1932

Mrs. Myron A. Wick

1932-1933

Mrs. Alexander Printz

1933

First Vice-chairman

Mrs. Frank A. McGowan

Treasurer

Mrs. Charles A. Brayton

Secretary

Mrs. Amos N. Barron

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Harry G. Sloan

Mrs. Henry Nelson Rose

Mrs. Robert D. Patterson

Mrs. F. Walton Bailey

Executive Chairmen

Mrs. Frederick N. Sinks (Legislation)

Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg (Finances)

Mrs. Frank Wade (Publicity)

Miss Louise Lockard (Political Activity)

OKLAHOMA

Chairman

Mrs. L. L. Leventritt

1931

OREGON

Chairman

Mrs. David Honeyman

1931-1933

Secretary

Mrs. Victor Johnson

Treasurer

Mrs. Eldon J. Steele

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Max Hirsch

Mrs. A. G. Labbe

Mrs. Rogers MacVeagh

Mrs. Ray Matson

Mrs. J. A. Minott

Mrs. John R. Oatman

Mrs. Robert Strong

Mrs. Louise Palmer Weber

Executive Committee

Mrs. T. Harris Bartlett

Mrs. Henry Berkowitz
Mrs. Henry Cabell
Mrs. Elmer B. Colwell
Mrs. Walter M. Cook
Mrs. Maurice Crumpacker
Mrs. E. L. Devereaux
Mrs. W. D. DeVarney
Miss Mary F. Failing
Mrs. Lloyd Frank
Mrs. James Gillison
Mrs. Walter Gleason
Mrs. James Gravley
Mrs. Frank E. Hart
Mrs. Kenneth Hauser
Mrs. Thomas Honeyman
Mrs. C. S. Jackson
Mrs. Stanley Jewett
Mrs. Thomas Joyce
Mrs. Peter Kerr
Mrs. William S. Knox
Mrs. Kurt H. Koehler
Mrs. Hall Lusk
Mrs. Clifton McArthur
Mrs. D. W. L. MacGregor
Mrs. Harrison Mesereau
Mrs. Walter May
Mrs. C. W. Robison
Mrs. Eugene Rockey
Mrs. E. C. Shevlin
Miss Johanna Shane
Mrs. Frank Spencer
Mrs. Charles W. Storz
Mrs. Frank Upshaw
Mrs. Theodore B. Wilcox
Mrs. Erskine Wood
Miss Mayme Ziegelman

PENNSYLVANIA

Chairmen

Mrs. Graham Dougherty	1930-1932
Mrs. Herbert Lincoln Clark	1932-1933

Vice-chairmen

Mrs. G. Dawson Coleman
Mrs. G. Faber Downey, Jr.
Mrs. George A. Dunning
Mrs. William Thaw, Jr.

Corresponding Secretary

Mrs. Archibald Barklie

Recording Secretary

Mrs. Mary Trainor

Treasurer

Mrs. W. W. Montgomery, Jr.

Executive Secretary

Mrs. Frank D. McFadden

Executive Committee

Mrs. James L. Alexander
Mrs. J. Jerome Belden
Mrs. Francis H. Bohlen
Mrs. Joseph Sill Clark
Mrs. John F. Cleary
Mrs. Anna E. Cort
Mrs. Charles P. Davis
Mrs. Graham Dougherty
Mrs. Griswold Flagg
Mrs. Charles M. Lea
Mrs. Horatio Gates Lloyd, Jr.
Mrs. John H. McCormick
Mrs. John R. Metcalf
Mrs. Carroll Miller
Mrs. Cyrus R. Miller
Mrs. Nicholas G. Roosevelt
Mrs. Randolph Stauffer
Mrs. Morris Wolf

RHODE ISLAND

Chairmen

Miss Maude K. Wetmore	1930-1931
-----------------------	-----------

Mrs. Charles W. Lippitt	1931-1933
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Mrs. Nathaniel W. Smith	1933-1933
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Vice-chairman

Mrs. Fred B. Thurber	
----------------------	--

Secretary

Mrs. G. Pierce Metcalf	
------------------------	--

Treasurer

Mrs. Lytton W. Doolittle	
--------------------------	--

Executive Committee

Miss Mary M. Blumer	
---------------------	--

Mrs. Harry Parsons Cross	
--------------------------	--

Mrs. Henry B. Cross	
---------------------	--

Mrs. Joseph H. Gainer	
-----------------------	--

Mrs. J. Peter Geddes, 2nd	
---------------------------	--

Mrs. Frank Mauran, Jr.	
------------------------	--

Miss Lena G. Massie	
---------------------	--

Mrs. Mauran S. Pearce	
-----------------------	--

Mrs. Thomas H. West, Jr.	
--------------------------	--

SOUTH CAROLINA

Chairman

Mrs. Andreini	1930-1933
---------------	-----------

Vice-chairman

Mrs. Simon Vander Horst Waring	
--------------------------------	--

Treasurer

Miss Caroline Jackson	
-----------------------	--

Executive Committee

Mrs. Albert Simons	
--------------------	--

Mrs. J. W. Jervey	
-------------------	--

TENNESSEE

Chairman

Mrs. William E. Norvell, Jr.	1931-1933
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TEXAS

Chairman

Mrs. Florence Rodgers	1931-1933
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Vice-chairmen

Mrs. Ewell Nalle
Mrs. B. F. Bonner
Mrs. Rue O'Neill
Mrs. I. H. Kempner
Mrs. W. C. Martin

Secretary

Miss Ona Brown

Treasurer

Mrs. Frank Cullinan

Executive Committee

Mrs. Pauline Adoue Hall
Mrs. Harold J. Abrams
Mrs. Eugene Duggan
Mrs. Joseph Weldon Bailey, Jr.
Mrs. William Flippen
Mrs. W. H. Carson
Mrs. Wendel Spence
Mrs. George V. Rotan
Mrs. Andrew J. Wray
Mrs. Calvin Garwood
Mrs. Jack E. Pierce
Mrs. J. D. Finnegan
Mrs. Hill De Wolfe
Mrs. John M. Fox
Mrs. Lloyd Fletcher

UTAH

Chairman

Mrs. Paul Keyser

1933

Secretary

Mrs. Hugh Ward

Treasurer

Mrs. F. C. Schramm

Executive Board

Mrs. Fred E. Cowans
Mrs. Charles Tuttle
Mrs. Clarence Bamberger
Mrs. E. B. Kelsey

Mrs. W. S. McQuilkin
Mrs. E. B. Harrison
Mrs. John O. Beesley
Mrs. H. B. Makin
Mrs. George Baliff
Mrs. Frank Deming
Mrs. Gladys C. Nielson
Mrs. A. L. Smith
Mrs. W. B. Jones
Mrs. Fred Lundbery
Mrs. George W. Preston
Miss Miriam Barnes
Miss Irene Swan
Mrs. V. H. King
Mrs. C. V. K. Saxton
Mrs. Verabee C. Knudson
Mrs. W. E. Davies
Mrs. A. E. Thomas
Mrs. Lloyd Pullman
Mrs. C. W. Evers
Mrs. Laura Sorenson
Mrs. T. E. Burke
Mrs. Jane McLeod
Mrs. John Wilson
Mrs. Virginia Burke
Mrs. Lou Harris
Mrs. John W. Pace
Mrs. Anna R. Price
Mrs. C. S. Trempe
Miss Tabitha Harness
Mrs. J. A. Howell
Mrs. Bertha A. Conroy
Mrs. W. H. Barratt
Miss Gladys McConnell
Mrs. E. S. O'Connor
Mrs. J. W. Bergstrom
Mrs. Albert Cane
Mrs. Fred Warner

Miss Grace Shinner
Mrs. Ave Murdock
Mrs. E. A. Petty
Mrs. Nell Barton
Mrs. Grant Tolton
Mrs. Dean C. Evans
Mrs. Vance Wilson
Mrs. Leah Wood
Mrs. La Voy Kimball

VERMONT

Chairman

Mrs. George Orvis

1930-1933

Treasurer

Miss Elizabeth Clement

Committee

Mrs. Clarence Morgan

Mrs. Collins Graves

Mrs. Frank E. Lowe

VIRGINIA

Chairmen

Mrs. Algernon Craven

1931

Mrs. Julian Keith

1932-1933

Co-chairman

Mrs. George Sloane

1932-1933

First Vice-chairman

Mrs. Henry Fairfax

Second Vice-chairman

Miss Charlotte Noland

Third Vice-chairman

Mrs. A. W. Weddell

Secretary

Miss Lucie Duer

Treasurer

Mrs. Arthur Charrington

Chairman of Richmond

Mrs. George Warren

Chairman of Publicity

Mrs. Robert Barton, Jr.

Chairman of Speakers' Bureau

Mrs. Wm. F. Hitt

WASHINGTON

Chairman

Miss Augusta Trimble

1932-1933

Treasurer

Mrs. Lochren Donnelly

Publicity Chairman

Mrs. Joseph Newberger

Executive Committee

Miss Lilys Bennett

Mrs. Francis Brownell, Jr.

Mrs. Bruce Elmore

Mrs. Charles Pye Burnett

Mrs. J. Fergus McRee

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INDEX

- Alabama, 115, 149, 182
 American Bar Association, 22, 105, 176
 American Federation of Labor, 19, 46, 57, 105
American Independent, The, 110
 American Legion, 57, 105
 Anderson, Henry W., 166
 Anderson Bone-dry law, 64
 "Anti-beer" bill, Willis-Campbell, xi
 Anti-Saloon League, 7, 36, 69, 95, 105, 107
 Arizona, 24, 123, 150, 182
 Arkansas, 150
 Ashurst, Senator Henry F., 50
 Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, xi, 2 and n., 57, 77, 104, 105, 144

 Bacon, Robert L., 106
 Baird, David, Jr., 61
 Baker, Newton D., 74, 76
Baltimore Sun, 85
 Bayard, Thomas F., 36
 Beck-Linthicum Resolution, xii, 60, 64, 65, 70, 136, 169
 Bingham, Hiram, 83
 Blaine repeal resolution, xiv, 118, 140, 154
 Bohlen, Francis H., 38
 Bolton, Chester, 106
 Brown, Francis Shunk, 38
 Budget Committee, Chairman of, 137
 Busby, Jeff, 50
 Butler, Dr. Nicholas Murray, 83, 85, 135
 Butler, Smedley D., 61
 By-laws, 162-163
 Byrd, Harry, 74

 California, 16, 25, 27, 30, 68, 73, 106, 112, 148, 183
 Campaign of 1932, 105-120
 Cannon, Bishop, 95, 146
 Chicago, 27
 Chicago meeting, May 28, 1928, 6, 9, 12
Chicago Tribune, 12
 Cleveland Conference, 17, 22, 24, 27
 Collier bill, xiii
 Colorado, 112, 117, 124, 152, 184
 Compromisers, the, 57
 Connecticut, 15, 29, 57, 72, 112, 114, 115, 147, 184
 Conventions, Republican and Democratic, 1932, 77-90
 Cooper, Kent, 51
 Council of Republican Women of Pennsylvania Women's Clubs, 30
Courier Journal, 33, 34
 Crusaders, the, 39, 57, 78, 104, 105, 141
 Cullen beer bill, xiv, 118 n.
 Curtis, Charles E., 74

 Davis, Jefferson, 33, 34
 Dean, Mrs. Charles A., Jr., ix
 Declaration of Principles, 20-21, 121, 161-162
 Delaware, 15, 27, 35, 36, 58, 112, 113, 116, 124, 129, 144, 186
 Democratic convention of 1932, 80-81
 Democratic national platform, xii, xiii, 2, 83-84, 122
 Democratic platform—see Platforms
 Democratic prohibition plank, 1932

- Direct Political Action, Resolu-
 tion for, 42-55
 District of Columbia, 35, 119, 185
 Dorrance, Charles, 38
 "Drinking-dry" legislators, 2
 duPont, Pierre, 78
- Eckman, Miss, ix
 Edge, Walter E., 83
 Eighteenth Amendment, xi, xii,
 1, 2, 4, 8, 18, 20, 21, 37, 40, 117,
 118, 130
 Election of 1932, 111, 115-118
Elmira (N. Y.) *Advertiser*, 32 n.
 Elsberg, Nathaniel, 21
 Ely, Governor (Mass.), 123
 Emerson, Governor (Illinois), 109
 Endorsement of Repeal National
 Plank, xiii, 67-76
 Enforcement Acts, xiii, 37
- Federation of Women's Clubs, 129
 Fess, Simeon D., 52-55
 First National Conference, 18-23,
 42, 132, 163-164
 "Five-and-ten" law, Jones, xii
 Florida, 56, 63, 108, 159
 Ford, Henry, 17 n.
 Fourth National Conference
 (1933), xiv, 120, 126-132, 177-
 180
- Garfield, James R., 83
 Garner, John, 74
 Garner repeal resolution, xiii
 General Federation of Women's
 Clubs, 2, 170
 Georgia, 56
 Glass Amendment, xiii
Grand Rapids Herald, 138
 "Great Compromisers," 84, 85
- Heidkamp, Senator, 140
 Hemphill, John M., 38
- Herald Post*, 33
Herald Tribune (New York), 84
 n., 96, 97, 98, 157
 Hobart Act, 62
 Hoover, President, xi, xii, 17, 84,
 91, 101, 102, 165
 Hotel Men's Association, 78, 104,
 105
 Humphreys, Miss Susan, ix
- Idaho, 153, 186
 Illinois, 24, 29, 38, 57, 58, 68, 114,
 116, 146, 186
 Illinois State Search and Seizure
 Act, 109
 Indiana, 24, 114, 146, 186
 Iowa, 147, 188
- Jessup, Professor Philip C., x
 Johnson, Royal C., 51
 Jones "five-and-ten" law, xii
 Judiciary Committee (Senate), 16,
 34, 73
 Junior League, 6
- Kansas, 16, 24, 188
 Kent, Frank R., 85-89
 Kentucky, 16, 26, 30, 33, 109, 110,
 114, 154, 156, 188
Kingston (New York) *Leader*, 96
 n.
 Klair law, 37
- Law Enforcement League, 2
 Lawyers, Voluntary Committee of,
 78, 104, 105
 League of Women Voters, 2, 30
 Lehman, Governor, 144
 Lewis, J. Hamilton, 40
 Lippmann, Walter, 135
 Liquor commissions, 123-125
 Liquor control, 19, 118, 119, 121-
 125, 128
 Lockwood, Mrs. Preston, ix

Maine, 56, 114, 151, 189
 Maryland, 15, 112, 152, 189
 Massachusetts, 15, 27, 35, 36, 57,
 116, 123, 147, 190
 McAdoo, William G., 106
 McBain, Professor, 69
 McClure Bill, 154
 Membership, xii, xiii, xiv, 18, 27-
 28, 42, 56, 132
 Methodist Board of Temperance,
 Prohibition, and Public Morals,
 13, 95, 105
 Michigan, xiv, 16, 24, 26, 27, 29,
 32, 36, 57, 90, 112, 117, 124, 128,
 140, 190
 Mills, Ogden, 83, 95, 96
 Minnesota, 108, 124, 152, 195
 Mississippi, 130, 194
 Missouri, 16, 24, 26, 27, 29, 57,
 107, 111, 114, 124, 151, 195
 Moderation League, 2 n.
 Molly Pitcher Club, 14
 Montana, 108, 197
 Morrow, Dwight W., 121, 166
 "Motorcade," 59, 114

 National Chairman, 136
 National Committees, 10
 National Executive Committee,
 xiii, 48, 61, 65, 90, 130, 139, 164-
 165, 169-171, 174-177, 179-180
 National Executive Secretary, 137
 National Headquarters, 133-139
 National Law Enforcement Com-
 mission, Report to, 34
 National Legislative Committee,
 119
 National officers, 180-182
 National Publicity Department,
 136
 National Treasurer, 137
 Nebraska, xi, 56, 117, 197
 Nevada, 145, 198
 New Hampshire, 56, 115, 147, 198

New Jersey, 14, 16, 57, 62, 112, 116,
 124, 142, 199
 New Mexico, 56, 58, 120, 153, 199
New Outlook, 8 n.
 New York, 15, 25, 27, 29, 31, 35,
 56, 58, 60, 61, 69, 106, 114, 116,
 123, 124, 143, 200
New York American, 13 n.
New York Times, 122
New York Tribune, 13 n.
 Nineteenth Amendment, 1
 North Carolina, 24, 34, 108, 116,
 154, 201
 North Dakota, 112, 202

 Ohio, xiv, 16, 27, 36, 56, 58, 106,
 124, 154, 156, 202
 Oklahoma, 24, 203
 Oregon, 17, 26, 63, 112, 114, 117,
 124, 150, 203
Outlook, The, 6, 86

 Pennsylvania, xiv, 14, 26, 28, 37,
 57, 60, 61, 64, 107, 108, 116, 124,
 129, 154, 156, 205
 Philadelphia, 35, 115
 Phillips, Thomas W., Jr., 38
Pictorial Review, 7 n.
 Pierson, Senator, 62
 Pinchot, Gifford, 38, 61
 Platform: Democratic—83-84; Re-
 publican—xi, xiii, 2, 81-82
 Political Activities, Committee on,
 70, 71
 Primaries: Pennsylvania, 38; New
 York, 62; Minnesota, 62; New
 Jersey, 62; Florida, 63; Michigan,
 111; Missouri, 111. See also
 under various states.

 Quinn, Miss Vera C., ix

 Raskob, John J., 166
 Ratification—1933, 140-160

- Ratification and regulation, xiv, 126-132
 "Ratification Week," 143
 Red Cross, 6
 Repeal National Plank, endorsement of, xiii, 67-76
 Repeal Week, 107-109
 Republican Convention of 1930, 37
 "Republican League for Roosevelt, The," 106
 Republican Party, Prohibition plank of the, 1932, 81-82
 Republican platform—*see* Platforms.
 Research, 34
 Research Department, 122
 Resolution for Direct Political Action, 42-55
 Reynolds, Robert R., 116
 Rhode Island, 15, 24, 27, 57, 124, 141, 206
 Ritchie, Albert C., 74, 75
 Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 85
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 74, 75, 91-93, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 175
 Roosevelt, Theodore, xiii, xiv
 Root, Elihu, 159

Scribner's Magazine, 85 and n.
 Second National Conference, ii, 40-55, 132, 165-171
 Seventy-second Congress, xii, 48, 118, 119
 Seventy-third Congress, 119
 Sheppard, Senator, 40
 Smith, Alfred E., 2, 8, 74, 75, 135
 Snyder-Armstrong Act, 154
 South Carolina, 154, 206
 State Conventions, xiii, xiv, 22-23, 48, 83, 84, 118, 140, 165
 State enforcement laws, 62, 63, 112
 State officers and committees, 182-211
 State Search and Seizure Act, Illinois, 109
 Stayton, Captain William A., 2 n.
 Steffens, Lincoln, 56

Tampa (Florida), Tribune, 13 n.
 Tax Reduction League, 57
 Temperance League for Liquor Control, 57
 Tennessee, 16, 57, 58, 150, 206
 Test of the WONPR, 91-104
 "Test, The," 86 n.
 Texas, 24, 57, 114, 151, 206
 Third National Conference, xiii, 67-76, 132
 Tubbs, Tallant, 106
 Twenty-first Amendment, 118
 Tydings, Senator, 19

 United Repeal Council, 77
 Utah, xiv, 156, 207

 Vermont, 24, 151, 209
 Victory dinner, xiv
 Virginia, 116, 153, 209
 Volstead Act, xi, 129
 Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, 78, 101, 105

 Wadsworth, James W., Jr., 2, 21, 61, 73, 78
 Wagner, Senator, 91
 Walsh, Senator, 79
 Ward, William, 4
 Warren Commission, 123
 Washington, 42, 124, 151, 210
 Washington Conference—*see* Second National Conference
 West Virginia, 148, 210
 Whitney, Cornelius V., 106
 Wickersham Commission, xii, 164
 Wickersham Report, 16, 45, 91
 Wilcox, Mark, 65
 Willis-Campbell "anti-beer" bill, xi
 Wilson, Dr. Clarence True, 13

INDEX

217

- Wisconsin, 16, 26, 30, 36, 57, 112, 141, 210
Woll, Matthew, 46
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1, 2, 12, 21, 26, 65, 78, 95, 105
Women's Committee for Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, 105
Women's National Republican Club, 3
Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform, 9, 139
Wright Act, 117
Wyoming, 56, 112, 142, 211
Y. W. C. A., 2

